BACON, His Age's Pride and Britann's Glory ---
Whose Name will still be Famous in her story ---
Having by 's works Oblig'd all future Ages ---
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John Rookwode

THE ESSAYS, OR COUNSELS, CIVIL & MORAL, OF Sir Francis Bacon, Lord *Verulam*, Viscount St. ALBAN:

With a Table of the Colours of *GOOD* and *EVIL*.

Whereunto is added

The WISDOME OF THE ANCIENTS.

Enlarged by the Honorable Author himself; and now more exactly published.

London, Printed by *Thomas Ratcliffe* and *Tho. Daniel*, for *Humphrey Robinson* at the three Pigeons in St. *Pauls* Church-yard, 1668.

TO THE

Right Honorable

MY

Very good LORD,

THE

Duke of *Buckingham* his *Grace*,

LORD High-ADMIRAL

OF

ENGLAND.

EXCELLENT LORD,

SALOMON *sayes*, A good Name is a precious Ointment; *and*, *I assure my self*, *such will Your Grace's*

Name be with Posterity: for your Fortune *and* Merit *both have been* Eminent; *and You have planted Things, that are like to last. I do now publish my* Essays; *which, of all my other* Works, *have been most Current: for that, as it seems they come home to Mens* Business, *and* Bosomes. *I have enlarged them both in* Number *and* Weight; *so that* they *are indeed a* new Work. *I thought it therefore agreeable to my Affection, and Obligation to Your* Grace, *to prefix Your Name before them, both in* English, *and* Latine: *for I do conceive that the* Latine *Volume of them, (being in*

the Universal *Language*) *may last as long as* Books *last*. *My* Instauration *I dedicated to the* KING: *my* History *of* HENRY *the* Seventh (*which I have now also translated into* Latine) *and my* Portions *of* Natural History *to the* PRINCE: *and These I dedicate to your* Grace; *being of the* best Fruits, *that, by the good Encrease, which* God *gives to my Pen, and Labours, I could yield.* God *lead Your* Grace *by the Hand.*

Your *Grace's*
Most Obliged, and
Faithfull Servant,

Fr. St-ALBAN.

Im-

Imprimatur

M. Franck. S.T.P. Rev. in Christo P. Dom. Epiſc. *Lond.* à Sac. Domeſtic.

June 6. 1663.

Of Truth.

WHat is *Truth*, said jesting *Pilate*, and would not stay for an answer. Certainly there be that delight in giddiness, and count it a bondage to fix a belief, affecting free-will in thinking, as well as in acting. And though the Sects of Philosophers of that kind be gone, yet there remain certain discoursing Wits, which are of the same Veins, though there be not so much Blood in them, as was in those of the Ancients. But it is not only the difficulty and labour, which Men take in finding out of *Truth*, nor again, that when it is found, it imposeth upon Mens thoughts, that doth bring *Lies* in favour, but a naturall, though corrupt Love, of the *Lie* it self. One of the later School of the Grecians examineth the matter, and is at a stand, to think what should be in it, that

Men should love *Lies*; where neither they make for Pleasure, as with Poets, nor for Advantage, as with the Merchant, but for the *Lies* sake. But I cannot tell: This same *Truth* is a Naked and Open day-light, that doth not shew the Masques, and Mummuries, and Triumphs of the World, half so stately and daintily as Candle-Lights. *Truth* may perhaps come to the price of a Pearl, that sheweth best by day; but it will not rise to the price of a Diamond or Carbuncle, that sheweth best in varied Lights. A mixture of a *Lie* doth ever add pleasure. Doth any Man doubt, that if there were taken out of Mens minds vain Opinions, flattering Hopes, false Valuations, Imaginations as one would, and the like; but it would leave the minds of a number of Men, poor shrunken things, full of melancholy and indisposition, and unpleasing to themselves. One of the Fathers in great Severity called Poesie, *Vinum Dæmonum*, because it filleth the Imagination, and yet it is but with the shadow of a *Lie*. But it is not the *Lie* that passeth through the mind, but the *Lie* that sinketh in, and settleth in it, that doth the hurt, such as we spake of before. But howsoever these things are thus in Mens depraved judgements and affections; yet *Truth*, which only doth judge it self,

ſelf, teacheth, that the enquiry of *Truth*, which is the love-making, or wooing of it: the knowledge of *Truth*, which is the preſence of it: and the belief of *Truth*, which is the enjoying of it, is the ſoveraign good of humane Nature. The firſt Creature of God in the works of the Dayes, was the Light of the Sence; the laſt was the Light of Reaſon; and his Sabbath-Work ever ſince, is the illumination of his Spirit. Firſt he breathed Light upon the face of the Matter or Chaos; then he breathed Light into the face of Man; and ſtill he breatheth and inſpireth Light into the face of his Choſen. The Poet that beautified the Sect, that was otherwiſe inferiour to the reſt, ſaith yet excellently well: *It is a pleaſure to ſtand upon the ſhore, and to ſee Ships toſt upon the Sea; a pleaſure to ſtand in the window of a Caſtle, and to ſee a Battle, and the Adventures thereof below: but no pleaſure is comparable to the ſtanding upon the vantage-ground of Truth:* (An Hill not to be commanded, and where the Air is always clear and ſerene:) *and to ſee the Errours, and Wandrings, and Miſts, and Tempeſts in the Vale below:* So alwayes that this proſpect be with Pity, and not with Swelling or Pride. Certainly it is Heaven upon Earth, to have a Mans mind move in Charity, reſt in Providence,

vidence, and turn upon the Poles of *Truth*.

To pass from Theological and Philosophical *Truth*, to the *Truth* of Civil business, it will be acknowledged, even by those that practice it not, that clear and round dealing is the honour of Mans nature, and that mixture of falshood is like allay in Coyn of Gold and Silver, which may make the Metal work the better, but it embaseth it. For these winding and crooked courses are the goings of the Serpent, which goeth basely upon the Belly, and not upon the Feet. There is no Vice that doth so cover a Man with shame, as to be found false and perfidious. And therefore *Montaigny* saith prettily, when he enquired the reason, Why the word of the *Lie* should be such a disgrace, and such an odious charge: Saith he, *If it be well weighed, To say that a Man lieth, is as much as to say, that he is Brave towards God, and a Coward towards Men.* For a *Lie* faces God, and shrinks from Man. Surely the wickedness of Falshood, and breach of Faith, cannot possibly be so highly expressed, as in that it shall be the last Peal, to call the Judgements of God upon the Generations of Men; it being foretold, that when Christ cometh, *He shall not find Faith upon the Earth.*

Of

Of Death.

II.

MEn fear *Death*, as Children fear to goe in the dark: And as that natural fear in Children is increased with Tales, so is the other. Certainly the contemplation of *Death*, as the *wages of sin*, and passage to another World, is Holy and Religious; but the fear of it, as a tribute due unto Nature, is weak. Yet in Religious Meditations, there is sometimes mixture of vanity and superstition. You shall read in some of the Friars *Books of Mortification*, that a Man should think with himself, what the pain is, if he have but his fingers end pressed or tortured, and thereby imagine what the pains of *Death* are, when the whole body is corrupted and dissolved; when many times *Death* passeth with less pain, than the torture of a Limb: For the most Vital parts are not the quickest of sense. And by him that spake only as a Philosopher, and natural Man, it was well said, *Mortis magis terret, quam Mors ipsa*. Groans, and Convulsions, and discoloured Face, and Friends weeping, and Blacks, and

Obsequies, and the like, shew *Death* terrible. It is worthy the observing, that there is no passion in the mind of Man so weak, but it Mates and Masters the fear of *Death*: and therefore *Death* is no such terrible Enemy, when a Man hath so many Attendants about him, that can win the combat of him. *Revenge* triumphs over *Death*; *Love* slights it; *Honour* aspireth to it; *Grief* flyeth to it; *Fear* pre-occupateth it: Nay we read, after *Otho* the Emperour had slain himself, *Pity* (which is the tenderest of Affections) provoked many to dye, out of meer compassion to their Soveraign, and as the truest sort of Followers. Nay, *Seneca* adds *Niceness* and *Satiety*; *Cogita quàm diu eadem faceris*; *Mori velle, non tantum Fortis, aut Miser, sed etiam Fastidiosus potest.* A Man would dye, though he were neither valiant nor miserable, only upon a weariness to do the same thing so oft over and over. It is no less worthy to observe, how little alteration in good Spirits the approaches of *Death* make. For they appear to be the same Men, till the last instant. *Augustus Cæsar* dyed in a Complement; *Livia, Conjugii nostri memor, vive, & vale. Tiberius* in Dissimulation, as *Tacitus* saith of him; *Jam Tiberium Vires, & Corpus, non Dissimulatio deserebant.* *Vespasian* in a Jest, sitting upon the stool, *Ut puto Deus fio.* Galba with a Sentence, holding forth his neck, *Feri, si ex re sit Populi Romani.* Septimius Severus in Despatch, *Adeste si quid mihi restat agendum.* And the like. But the Dissimulation of *Tiberius* deserves a Relation. For *Tacitus* saith of him, *Jam Tiberium Vires, & Corpus, non Dissimulatio deserebant.* And *Suetonius* addeth, *Paulatim & Comitum abeuntium officia non agnoscere, Successorem nullum nisi interrogatus dare, Notationes Tribunalium, ne quis damnatorum necem maturaret, per Jocum irridere, desertus à Medicis, quod Victum & Curam recusasset, nec Mederi sibi nec Precibus Deos fatigare.* Only dissembling to the last. He had a Mimical Servant, one *Charicles*, who counterfeited a Physician, coming to his Master, and bringing him Broth, as if he had taken Physick, and had Stomach to his Meat. Whereupon *Tiberius* said, *Perii, quem non fallit tam diu Dissimulatio mea.* Certainly there is a Truth in Dissimulation, but it is hard to find. For Men dissemble sometimes Diffidence of themselves, sometimes Fear of others, sometimes Contempt of Glory, sometimes Shame of Fortune, sometimes Disdain of Business, sometimes Pleasure of Secrecy, and infinite other Causes. Nay, many times they dissemble, they know not why, but by a kind of Habit. Dissimulation is a Vice in Counsel, in Conversation, in Manners, in Life. Only it is to be cleared, when Simulation and Dissimulation are Arts of Ruling and Winning. Which is commonly in Persons of Base Condition, and Nature. For as to Persons of Eminent Virtue, they have commonly a Native Plainness and Openness, which is many times Imprudence, but seldom Falshood. Of Persons of Middle Condition, Dissimulation is a Refuge, or Covert, and a Shrowd Wind to them, that cannot Play their Game in the Open Field. But of Persons of Great Fortune, Dissimulation is a Sacrifice, which they do to Envy, and Danger. Of Persons of Low Condition, Dissimulation is

ferebant. Vespasian in a jest sitting upon the Stool; *Ut puto, Deus fio. Galba* with a Sentence; *Feri, si ex re sit populi Romani*, holding forth his neck. *Septimius Severus* in dispatch; *Addeste, si quid mihi restat agendum.* And the like. Certainly the *Stoicks* bestowed too much cost upon *Death*, and by their great preparations made it appear more fearful. Better, saith he, *Qui finem vitæ extremum inter munera ponat Naturæ.* It is as natural to dye, as to be born; and to a little Infant perhaps the one is as painful as the other. He that dyes in an earnest pursuit, is like one that is wounded in hot blood, who for the time scarce feels the hurt; and therefore a mind fixt, and bent upon somewhat that is good, doth avert the dolours of *Death.* But above all, believe it, the sweetest Canticle is, *Nunc dimittis*, when a Man hath obtained worthy ends and expectations. *Death* hath this also, that it openeth the Gate to good Fame, and extinguisheth Envy.

—— Extinctus amabitur idem.

Of Unity in Religion.

III.

Religion being the chief band of humane society, it is a happy thing when it self is well contained within the true band of *Unity*. The Quarrels and Divisions about *Religion* were Evils unkown to the Heathen. The reason was, because the Religion of the Heathen consisted rather in Rites and Ceremonies, than in any constant belief. For you may imagine what kind of Faith theirs was, when the chief Doctors and Fathers of their Church were Poets. But the true God hath this Attribute, that he is a *Jealous God*, and therefore his Worship and *Religion* will endure no mixture nor *Partner*. We shall therefore speak a few words concerning the *Unity* of the *Church*; *What are the Fruits thereof*, *what the Bonds*, *and what the Means*.

The Fruits of Unity (next unto the well-pleasing of God, which is All in All) are two; the one towards those that are *without the Church*, the other towards those that are *within*. For the former: It is certain, that He-

Heresies and Schismes are of all others the greatest Scandals, yea, more than corruption of Manners. For as in the natural Body, a Wound or Solution of continuity, is worse than a corrupt Humour; so in the Spiritual. So that nothing doth so much keep Men out of the Church, and drive Men out of the Church, as breach of *Unity*: And therefore whensoever it cometh to that pass, that one saith, *Ecce in Deserto*, another saith, *Ecce in penetralibus*; that is, when some Men seek Christ in the Conventicles of Heretickes, and others in an outward face of a Church, that Voice had need continually to sound in Mens Ears, *Nolite exire*, *Go not out*. The Doctor of the Gentiles (the propriety of whose vocation drew him to have a special care of those *without*) saith, *If an Heathen come in, and hear you speak with several Tongues, will he not say that you are mad?* And certainly it is little better, when Atheists and prophane persons do hear of so many discordant and contrary Opinions in *Religion*; it doth avert them from the Church, and maketh them *to sit down in the Chair of the Scorners*. It is but a light thing to be vouched in so serious a matter, but yet it expresseth well the deformity. There is a Master of Scoffing, that in this Catalogue of Books of a feigned Library, sets

down this Title of a Book, *The Morrice-dance of Heresticks.* For indeed every Sect of them hath a divers posture, or cringe by themselves, which cannot but move derision in Worldlings, and depraved Politicks, who are apt to contemn holy things.

As for the *Fruit towards those that are without*, It is *Peace*, which containeth infinite Blessings; it establisheth Faith; it kindleth Charity; the outward peace of the Church distilleth into peace of Conscience; and it turneth the Labours of Writing and Reading of Controversies, into Treaties of Mortification and Devotion.

Concerning the *Bonds of Unity*; the true placing of them importeth exceedingly. There appear to be two extreams. For to certain *Zelants* all speech of pacification is odious. *Is it peace*, Jehu? *What hast thou to do with peace, turn thee behind me. Peace* is not the matter, but *Following* and *Party*. Contrariwise, certain *Laodiceans*, and luke-warm persons, think they may accommodate points of *Religion* by middle wayes, and taking part of both, and witty reconcilements; as if they would make an arbitrement between God and Man. But these extreams are to be avoided; which will be done, if the league of Christians, penned by our Saviour himself, were

were in the two cross clauses thereof soundly and plainly expounded; *He that is not with us, is against us*: And again, *He that is not against us, is with us*; that is, if the points fundamental, and of Substance in *Religion*, were truly discerned and distinguished from points not meerly of Faith, but of Opinion, Order, or good Intention. This is a thing may seem to many a matter trivial, and done already; but if it were done less partially, it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may give only this advice, according to my small model: Men ought to take heed of rending Gods Church by two kinds of controversies: The one is, when the matter of the point controverted is too small and light, not worth the heat and strife about it, kindled only by contradiction. For, as it is noted by one of the Fathers, *Christs Coat indeed had no seam, but the Churches Vesture was of divers colours*; whereupon he saith, *In veste varietas sit, scissura non sit*; they be two things, *Unity* and *Uniformity*. The other is, when the matter of the point controverted is great, but it is driven to an over-great subtilty and obscurity, so that it becommeth a thing rather ingenuous than substantial. A Man that is of judgement and understanding, shall sometimes hear ignorant

Men

Men differ, and know well within himself, that those which so differ, mean one thing, and yet they themselves would never agree. And if it come so to pass, in that distance of judgement which is between Man and Man, shall we not think, that God above, that knows the heart, doth not discern, that frail Men in some of their contradictions intend the same thing, and accepteth of both. The nature of such controversies is excellently expressed by *Saint Paul*, in the warning and precept that he giveth concerning the same, *Devita prophanas vocum novitates, & oppositiones falsi nominis scientiæ*; Men create oppositions which are not, and put them into new tearms so fixed, as whereas the meaning ought to govern the tearm, the tearm in effect governeth the meaning. There be also two false *Peaces*, or *Unities*; the one, when the *Peace* is grounded but upon an implicite ignorance; for all Colours will agree in the dark: the other, when it is pieced up upon a direct admission of contraries in Fundamental points. For Truth and Falshood in such things, are like the *Iron* and *Clay in the toes of Nebuchadnezzars Image*, they may cleave, but they will not incorporate.

Concerning the *Means of procuring Unity*, Men must beware, that in the procuring or mu-

muniting of *Religious Unity*, they do not dissolve and deface the Laws of Charity, and of humane Society. There be two Swords amongst Christians, the Spiritual and Temporal, and both have their due office and place in the maintenance of *Religion*. But we may not take up the third Sword, which is *Mahomets* Sword, or like unto it, that is, to propagate *Religion* by Wars, or by sanguinary Persecutions, to force Consciences, except it be in cases of overt Scandal, Blasphemy, or intermixture of practice against the State; much less to nourish Seditions, to authorize Conspiracies and Rebellions, to put the Sword into the peoples hands, and the like, tending to the subversion of all Government, which is the Ordinance of God. For this is but to dash the First Table against the Second, and so to consider Men as Christians, as we forget that they are Men, *Lucretius* the Poet, when he beheld the Act of *Agamemnon*, that could endure the sacrificing of his own Daughter, exclaimed;

Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum.

What would he have said, if he had known o the Massacre in *France*, or the Powder-Treason of *England*? He would have been

seven

seven times more Epicure and Atheist than he was: For as the Temporal Sword is to be drawn with great circumspection in cases of *Religion*; so it is a thing monstrous, to put it into the hands of the common people. Let that be left unto the Anabaptists, and other Furies. It was great blasphemy, when the Devil said, *I will ascend, and be like the Highest*; but it is greater blasphemy to personate God, and bring him in, saying, *I will descend, and be like the Prince of Darkness*: And what is it better, to make the cause of *Religion* to descend to the cruel and execrable actions of Murthering Princes, Butchery of People, and Subversion of States and Governments? Surely this is to bring down the Holy Ghost, instead of the likeness of a Dove, in the shape of a Vulture or Raven; and to set out of the Barque of a Christian Church, a Flagg of a Barque of Pyrates and *Assassins*. Therefore it is most necessary, that the Church by Doctrine and Decree, Princes by their Sword, and all Learnings both Christian and Moral, as by their Mercury Rod, do damn and send to Hell for ever those Facts and Opinions, tending to the support of the same, as hath been already in good part done. Surely in Counsels concerning *Religion*, that Counsel of the Apostle would

would be prefixed, *Ira hominis non implet justiciam Dei.* And it was a notable observation of a wise Father, and no less ingenuously confessed, *That those which held and perswaded pressure of Consciences, were commonly interessed therein themselves for their own ends.*

Of Revenge.

IV.

Revenge is a kind of wild Justice, which the more Mans Nature runs to, the more ought Law to weed it out. For as the first wrong, it doth but offend the *Law*, but the *Revenge* of that wrong putteth the Law out of office: Certainly in taking *Revenge*, a Man is but even with his Enemy; but in passing it over he is superiour: for it is a Princes part to pardon. And *Solomon*, I am sure, saith, *It is the glory of a Man to pass by an offence.* That which is past, is gone, and irrecoverable; and wise Men have enough to do with things present, and to come: therefore they do but trifle with themselves, that labour in past matters. There is no Man doth

a wrong for the wrongs sake, but thereby to purchase himself profit, or pleasure, or honour, or the like. Therefore why should I be angry with a Man for loving himself better than me? And if any Man should do wrong meerly out of ill nature, why? yet it is but like the Thorn or Bryar, which prick and scratch, because they can do no other. The most tolerable sort of *Revenge* is for those wrongs which there is no Law to remedy: but then let a Man take heed, the *Revenge* be such, as there is no Law to punish; else a Mans Enemy is still before-hand, and it is two for one. Some when they take *Revenge*, are desirous the Party should know whence it cometh: this is the more generous. For the delight seemeth to be not so much in doing the hurt, as in making the Party repent: but base and crafty Cowards are like the Arrow that flyeth in the dark. *Cosmus* Duke of *Florence* had a desperate saying against perfidious or neglecting Friends, as if those wrongs were unpardonable: *You shall read* (saith he) *that we are commanded to forgive our Enemies; but you never read, that we are commanded to forgive our Friends.* But yet the Spirit of *Job* was in a better tune; *Shall we* (saith he) *take good at Gods hands, and not be content to take evil also?* And so of Friends

Friends in a proportion. This is certain, that a Man that studieth *Revenge*, keeps his own wounds green, which otherwise would heal, and do well. Publick *Revenges* are for the most part fortunate, as that for the death of *Cæsar*, for the death of *Pertinax*, for the death of *Henry* the third of *France*, and many more. But in private *Revenges* it is not so. Nay rather vindicative persons live the life of Witches, who as they are mischievous, so end they infortunate.

Of Adversity.

V.

IT was an high Speech of *Seneca*, (after the manner of the Stoicks) *That the good things which belong to prosperity are to be wished, but the good things that belong to adversity are to be admired; Bona rerum secundarum optabilia, adversarum mirabilia.* Certainly if Miracles be the command over Nature, they appear most in *Adversity*. It is yet a higher speech of his, than the other, (much too high for a Heathen) *It is true greatness to have in one the frailty of a Man, and the security*

security of a God: Vere magnum habere fragilitatem hominis, securitatem Dei. This would have done better in Poesie, where transcendencies are more allowed. And the Poets indeed have been busie with it; for it is in effect the thing, which is figured in that strange Fiction of the ancient Poets, which seemeth not to be without mystery, nay, and to have some approach to the State of a Christian: That *Hercules, when he went to unbind Prometheus*, (by whom humane Nature is represented) *sayled the length of the great Ocean in an earthen Pot or Pitcher*; Lively describing Christian resolution, that sayleth in the frail Barque of the Flesh, through the waves of the World. But to speak in a mean: The Vertue of *Prosperity* is Temperance, the Vertue of *Adversity* is Fortitude, which in Morals is the more heroical Vertue. *Prosperity* is the blessing of the Old Testament, *Adversity* is the blessing of the New, which carrieth the greater Benediction, and the clearer Revelation of Gods favour. Yet even in the Old Testament, if you listen to *David's* Harp, you shall hear as many Hearse-like Ayres, as Carols. And the Pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more in describing the Afflictions of *Job*, than the Felicities of *Solomon*.

Pro-

Proſperity is not without many feats and diſtaſtes, and *Adverſity* is not without comforts and hopes. We ſee in Needle-works and Embroyderies, it is more pleaſing to have a lively Work upon a ſad and ſolemn ground, than to have a dark and melancholy Work upon a lightſome ground. Judge therefore of the pleaſure of the Heart, by the pleaſure of the Eye. Certainly Vertue is like precious Odours, moſt fragrant when they are incenſed or cruſhed: For *Proſperity* doth beſt diſcover Vice, but *Adverſity* doth beſt diſcover Vertue.

Of Simulation and Diſſimulation.

VI.

Diſſimulation is but a faint kind of Policy or Wiſdom: for it asketh a ſtrong Wit, and a ſtrong Heart, to know when to tell truth, and to do it. Therefore it is the weaker ſort of Politicks, that are the great Diſſemblers.

Tacitus ſaith, *Livia ſorted well with the Arts of her Husband, and Diſſimulation of her Son*, attributing *Arts* or Policy to *Auguſtus*, and

and *Dissimulation* to *Tiberius*. And again, when *Mucianus* encourageth *Vespasian* to take Armes against *Vitellius*, he saith, *we rise not against the piercing Judgement of Augustus, nor the extream Caution or Closeness of* Tiberius. These properties of *Arts*, or *Policy* and *Dissimulation*, or *Closeness*, are indeed habits and faculties, several, and to be distinguished. For if a Man have that penetration of Judgement, as he can discern, what things are to be laid open, and what to be secreted, and what to be shewed at half lights, and to whom, and when, (which indeed are Arts of State, and Arts of Life, as *Tacitus* well calleth them) to him, a habit of *Dissimulation* is a hinderance, and a poorness. But if a Man cannot attain to that Judgement, then it is left to him generally to be Close, and a *Dissembler*. For where a Man cannot choose or vary in Particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest way in general, like the going softly by one that cannot well see. Certainly the ablest Men that ever were, have had all an openness and franknes of dealing, and a Name of Certainty and Veracity: but then they were like Horses, well managed, for they could tell passing well, when to stop or turn: And at such times, when they thought the case in-

deed required *Dissimulation*, if then they used it, it came to pass, that the former Opinion spread abroad of their good faith, and clearness of dealing, made them almost invisible.

There be three degrees of this hiding and vailing of a Mans self. The first *Closeness*, *Reservation*, and *Secrecy*; when a Man leaveth himself without observation, or without hold to be taken what he is. The second *Dissimulation* in the *Negative*, when a Man lets fall Signs and Arguments, that he is not that he is. And the third *Simulation* in the *Affirmative*, when a Man industriously and expressly feigns and pretends to be that he is not.

For the first of these, *Secrecy*: It is indeed the vertue of a Confessour, and assuredly the *Secret* Man heareth many Confessions: For who will open himself to a Blab, or a Babler? But if a Man be thought *Secret*, it inviteth discovery, as the more close Air sucketh in the more open: And as in Confession, the revealing is not for worldly use, but for the ease of a Mans heart; so *Secret* Men come to the knowledge of many things in that kind, while Men rather discharge their minds, than impart their minds. In few words, Mysteries are due to *Secrecy*.

Besides

Besides (to say truth) *Nakednes* is uncomely, as well in mind, as in body; and it addeth no small reverence to Mens manners and actions, if they be not altogether open. As for Talkers, and Futile persons, they are commonly vain, and credulous withall. For he that talketh what he knoweth, will also talk what he knoweth not. Therefore set it down, *That an habit of Secrecy is both politick and moral.* And in this part it is good, that a Mans face give his tongue leave to speak. For the discovery of a Mans self, by the tracts of his countenance, is a great weaknes and betraying, by how much it is many times more marked and believed, than a Mans words.

For the second, which is *Dissimulation*: It followeth many times upon *Secrecy* by a necessity, so that he that will be *Secret*, must be a *Dissembler* in some degree. For men are too cunning, to suffer a man to keep an indifferent carriage between both, and to be *Secret* without swaying the ballance on either side. They will so beset a Man with questions, and draw him on, and pick it out of him, that without an absurd silence, he must shew an inclination one way; or if he do not, they will gather as much by his Silence, as by his Speech. As for Equivocations,

ons,

ons, or oraculous Speeches, they cannot hold out long: ſo that no Man can be *Secret*, except he give himſelf a little ſcope of *Diſſimulation*, which is, as it were, but the skirts or train of *Secrecy*.

But for the third degree, which is *Simulation*, and falſe Profeſſion: That I hold more culpable, and leſs politick, except it be in great and rare matters. And therefore a general cuſtome of *Simulation* (which is this laſt degree) is a Vice, riſing either of a natural falſeneſs or fearfulneſs, or of a mind that hath ſome main faults; which becauſe a Man muſt needs diſguiſe, it maketh him practice *Simulation* in other things, leſt his hand ſhould be out of ure.

The great *advantages* of *Simulation* and *Diſſimulation* are three. Firſt, To lay aſleep oppoſition, and to ſurprize: For where a Mans intentions are publiſhed, it is an alarum to call up all that are againſt them. The ſecond is, to reſerve to a Mans ſelf a fair retreat: For if a Man engage himſelf by a manifeſt Declaration, he muſt goe through, or take a fall. The third is, the better to diſcover the mind of another: For to him that opens himſelf, Men will hardly ſhew themſelves adverſe, but will (fair) let him goe on, and turn their freedome of ſpeech

to

to freedome of thought. And therefore it is a good shrewd Proverb of the *Spaniard*, *Tell a lye, and find a truth*; as if there were no way of discovery, but by *Simulation*.

There be also three *dis-advantages* to set it even. The first, That *Simulation* and *Dissimulation* commonly carry with them a shew of fearfulness, which in any businesse doth spoil the feathers of round flying up to the mark. The second, That it puzzleth and perplexeth the conceits of many, that perhaps would otherwise co-operate with him, and makes a Man walk almost alone to his own ends. The third and greatest is, That it deprives a man of one of the most principal instruments for action, which is *Trust* and *Belief*. The best composition and temperature is, to have *Openness* in fame and opinion, *Secrecy* in habit, *Dissimulation* in seasonable use, and a power to feign if there be no remedy.

Of Parents and Children.

VII.

THe joyes of *Parents* are secret, and so are their griefs and fears; they cannot utter the one, nor they will not utter the other. *Children* sweeten labours, but they make misfortunes more bitter: they increase the cares of Life, but they mitigate the remembrance of Death. The perpetuity by generation is common to Beasts; but memory, merit, and noble works, are proper to Men: and surely a Man shall see the noblest Works and Foundations have proceeded from *Childless Men*, which have sought to express the Images of their minds, where those of their bodies have failed: So the care of posterity is most in them that have no posterity. They that are the first raisers of their Houses, are most indulgent towards their *Children*, beholding them as the continuance, not only of their kind, but of their work, and so both *Children* and *Creatures*.

The difference in affection of *Parents* towards their several *Children*, is many times unequal, and sometimes unworthy, especially

in the *Mother*; as *Solomon* saith, *A wise Son rejoyceth the Father, but an ungracious Son shames the Mother.* A Man shall see, where there is a House full of *Children*, one or two of the eldest respected, and the youngest made wantons, but in the midst, some that are as it were forgotten, who many times nevertheless prove the best. The illiberality of *Parents* in allowance towards their *Children*, is an harmful error, makes them base, acquaints them with shifts, makes them sort with mean company, and makes them surfet more when they come to plenty: and therefore the proof is best, when Men keep their authourity towards their *Children*, but not their purse. Men have a fooliſh manner (both *Parents*, and School-masters, and Servants) in creating and breeding an emulation between Brothers, during *Childhood*, which many times forteth to diſcord when they are men, and diſturbeth Families. The *Italians* make little difference between *Children* and Nephews, or near Kinsfolks; but ſo they be of the lump they care not, though they paſs not through their own body. And to ſay truth, in Nature it is much a like matter, inſomuch that we ſee a Nephew ſometimes reſembleth an Uncle, or a Kinſman, more than his own *Parent*, as the blood happens. Let *Parents* choose

chooſe betimes the vocations and courſes they mean their *Children* ſhould take, for then they are moſt flexible; and let them not too much apply themſelves to the diſpoſition of their *Children*, as thinking they will take beſt to that which they have moſt mind to. It is true, that if the affection or aptneſs of the *Children* be extraordinary, then it is good not to croſs it: but generally the precept is good, *Optimum elige, ſuave & facile illud facet conſuetudo.* *Younger Brothers* are commonly fortunate, but ſeldome or never where the *Elder* are diſ-inherited.

Of Marriage and Single Life.

VIII.

HE that hath *Wife and Children*, hath given hoſtages to Fortune, for they are impediments to great enterpriſes, either of Vertue or Miſchief. Certainly the beſt works, and of greateſt merit for the publick, have proceeded from the *unmarried* or *childleſs Men*, which both in affection and means have married and endowed the publick. Yet it were great reaſon, that thoſe that have

Children, should have greatest care of future times, unto which they know they must transmit their dearest pledges. Some there are, who though they lead a *Single Life*, yet their thoughts do end with themselves, and account future times impertinencies. Nay, there are some other, that account *wife* and *Children* but as Bills of Charges. Nay more, there are some fooliſh rich covetous men, that take a pride in having no *Children*, because they may be thought ſo much the richer. For perhaps they have heard some talk, *Such an one is a great rich Man*; and another except to it, *Yea, but he hath a great charge of Children*; as if it were an abatement to his riches. But the most ordinary cause of a *Single Life* is Liberty, especially in certain ſelf-pleaſing and humorous minds, which are ſo ſenſible of every reſtraint, as they will goe near to think their Girdles and Garters to be Bonds and Shackles. *Unmarried Men* are best Friends, best Masters, best Servants, but not alwayes best Subjects; for they are light to run away, and almost all fugitives are of that condition. A *Single Life* doth well with Church-men: for Charity will hardly water the Ground, where it must first fill a Pool. It is indifferent for Judges and Magiſtrates:

giſtrates: For if they be facile and corrupt, you ſhall have a Servant five times worſe than a *Wife*. For Souldiers, I find the Generals commonly in their hortatives put men in mind of their *Wives and Children*. And I think the deſpiſing of *Marriage* amongſt the *Turks*, maketh the vulgar Souldier more baſe. Certainly *Wife* and *Children* are a kind of diſcipline of humanity; and *Single Men*, though they be many times more charitable, becauſe their means are leſs exhauſt; yet on the other ſide, they are more cruel and hard-hearted, (good to make ſevere Inquiſitors) becauſe their tenderneſs is not ſo oft called upon. Grave natures, led by cuſtome, and therefore conſtant, are commonly loving *Husbands*; as was ſaid of *Ulyſſes*, *Vetulam ſuam prætulit immortalitati*. Chaſt Women are often proud and froward, as preſuming upon the merit of their chaſtity. It is one of the beſt bonds both of chaſtity and obedience in the *wife*, if ſhe think her *Husband* wiſe, which ſhe will never do, if ſhe find him *jealous*. *Wives* are young mens Miſtreſſes, Companions for middle Age, and old mens Nurſes; ſo as a man may have a quarrel to marry when he will. But yet he was reputed one of the wiſe men, that made anſwer to the queſtion, When a man ſhould marry?

A young Man not yet, an elder Man not at all. It is often seen, that bad *Husbands* have very good *wives*; whether it be, that it raiseth the price of their *Husbands* kindness when it comes, or that the *wives* take a pride in their patience. But this never fails, if the bad *Husbands* were of their own chooſing, againſt their Friends conſent, for then they will be ſure to make good their own folly.

Of Envy.

IX.

THere be none of the *Affections*, which have been noted to facinate or bewitch, but *Love* and *Envy*. They both have vehement wiſhes, they frame themſelves readily into imaginations and ſuggeſtions, and they come eaſily into the eye, eſpecially upon the preſence of the objects, which are the points that conduce to faſcination, if any ſuch thing there be. We ſee likewiſe the Scripture calleth *Envy*, *an Evil Eye*; and the Aſtrologers call the evil influences of the Stars, *Evil Aſpects*; ſo that ſtill there ſeemeth to be acknow-

acknowledged in the act of *Envy*, an ejaculation or irradiation of the Eye. Nay, some have been so curious, as to note, that the times, when the stroke or percussion of an *Envious Eye* doth most hurt, are, when the *Party envied* is beheld in glory or triumph; for that sets an edge upon *Envy*: And besides, at such times the spirits of the *Person envied* do come forth most into the outward parts, and so meet the blow.

But leaving these curiosities, (though not unworthy to be thought on in fit place) we will handle, *What Persons are apt to envy others, what Persons are most subject to be envied themselves, and what is the difference between publick and private Envy.*

A man that hath no vertue in himself, ever *envieth* vertue in others. For mens minds will either feed upon their own good, or upon others evil; and who wanteth the one, will prey upon the other; and who so is out of hope to attain to another's vertue, will seek to come at even hand by depressing another's fortune.

A man that is busie and inquisitive, is commonly *Envious*: for to know much of other mens matters cannot be, because all that adoe may concern his own estate, therefore it must needs be, that he taketh a kind of

play-pleasure in looking upon the fortunes of others; neither can he that mindeth but his own business, find much matter for *Envy*. For *Envy* is a gadding passion, and walketh the Streets, and doth not keep home, *Non est curiosus, quin idem sit malevolus.*

Men of noble birth are noted to be *envious* towards new Men when they rise: For the distance is shortned; and it is like a deceipt of the eye, that when others come on, they think themselves go back.

Deformed persons, and Eunuchs, and old Men, and Bastards are *envious*: for he that cannot possibly mend his own case, will do what he can to impair another's, except these defects light upon a very brave and heroical nature, which thinketh to make his natural wants part of his honour; in that it should be said, that an Eunuch, or lame Man, did such great matters, affecting the honour of a miracle, as it was in *Narses* the Eunuch, and *Agesilaus*, and *Tamberlaine*, that were lame Men.

The same is the case of men that rise after calamities and misfortunes; for they are as men fallen out with the times, and think other mens harms a redemption of their own sufferings.

They

They that desire to excell in too many matters, out of levity and vain-glory, are ever *Envious*: For they cannot want work, it being impossible but many in some one of those things should surpass them; which was the character of *Adrian* the Emperour, that mortally *envied Poets*, and *Painters*, and *Artificers* in works wherein he had a vein to excell.

Lastly, Near Kinsfolks, and Fellows in Office, and those that have been bred together, are more apt to *Envy* their equals when they are raised: For it doth upbraid unto them their own fortunes, and pointeth at them, and cometh oftner into their remembrance, and incurreth likewise more into the note of others; and *Envy* ever redoubleth from Speech and Fame. *Cain's Envy* was the more vile and malignant towards his Brother *Abel*, because when his Sacrifice was better accepted, there was no body to look on. Thus much for *those that are apt to Envy*.

Concerning *those that are more or less subject to Envy*: First, Persons of eminent vertue, when they are advanced, are less *envied*: For their fortune seemeth but due unto them; and no man *envieth* the payment of a Debt, but Rewards and Liberality rather.

Again, *Envy* is ever joyned with the comparing of a mans ſelf; and where there is no compariſon, no *Envy*; and therefore Kings are not *envied*, but by Kings. Nevertheleſs it is to be noted, that unworthy Perſons are moſt *envied* at their firſt coming in, and afterwards overcome it better; whereas contrariwiſe, Perſons of worth and merit are moſt *envied*, when their fortune continueth long. For by that time, though their vertue be the ſame, yet it hath not the ſame *Luſtre*; for freſh men grow up that darken it.

Perſons of noble blood are leſs *envied* in their riſing; for it ſeemeth but right done to their birth. Beſides, there ſeemeth not much added to their fortune; and *Envy* is as the Sun-beams, that beat hotter upon a Bank, or ſteep riſing Ground, than upon a Flat. And for the ſame reaſons, thoſe that are advanced by degrees are leſs *envied*, than thoſe that are advanced ſuddenly, and *per ſaltum*.

Thoſe that have joyned with their Honour great Travels, Cares, or Perils, are leſs ſubject to *Envy*: For men think that they earn their Honours hardly, and pity them ſometimes; and Pity ever healeth *Envy*: Wherefore you ſhall obſerve, that the more

more deep and sober sort of politick Persons in their greatness, are ever bemoning themselves, what a life they lead, chanting a *Quam a patimur*. Not that they feel it so, but only to abate the edge of *Envy*. But this is to be understood of business that is laid upon men, and not such as they call unto themselves. For nothing increaseth *Envy* more than an unnecessary and ambitious engrossing of business; and nothing doth extinguish *Envy* more, than for a great Person to preserve all other inferiour Officers in their full rights, and preheminencies of their places: for by that means there be so many Skreens between him and *Envy*.

Above all, those are most subject to *Envy*, which carry the greatness of their fortunes in an insolent and proud manner, being never well, but while they are shewing how great they are, either by outward pomp, or by triumphing over all opposition or competition; whereas wise men will rather do Sacrifice to *Envy*, in suffering themselves sometimes of purpose to be crost and overborn of things that do not much concern them. Notwithstanding so much is true, That the carriage of greatness in a plain and open manner (so it be without arrogancy and vain-glory) doth draw less *Envy*, than if

if it be in a more crafty and cunning fashion. For in that course a man doth but disavow fortune, and seemeth to be conscious of his own want in worth, and doth but teach others to *Envy* him.

Lastly, to conclude this part; As we said in the beginning, that the Act of *Envy* had somewhat in it of *Witchcraft*, so there is no other cure of *Envy*, but the cure of *Witchcraft*; and that is, to remove the *Lot* (as they call it) and to lay it upon another. For which purpose, the wiser sort of great Persons, bring in ever upon the Stage some body, upon whom to drive the *Envy*, that would come upon themselves; sometimes upon Ministers and Servants, sometimes upon Colleagues and Associates, and the like; and for that turn there are never wanting some Persons of violent and undertaking Natures, who, so they may have Power and Business, will take it at any cost.

Now to speak of *publick Envy*. There is yet some good in *publick Envy*, whereas in *private* there is none. For *publick Envy* is as an *Ostracism*, that eclipseth men when they grow too great. And therefore it is a bridle also to great ones, to keep them within bounds.

This

This *Envy* being in the Latine word *Invidia*, goeth in the modern languages by the name of *Discontentment*, of which we shall speak in handling *Sedition*. It is a disease in a State like to infection; for as infection spreadeth upon that which is sound, and tainteth it; so when *Envy* is gotten once in a State, it traduceth even the best actions thereof, and turneth them into an ill odour. And therefore there is little wonn by intermingling of plausible actions. For that doth argue but a weakness and fear of *Envy*, which hurteth so much the more, as it is likewise usual in *infections*; which if you fear them, you call them upon you.

This *publick Envy* seemeth to beat chiefly upon principal Officers or Ministers, rather than upon Kings and Estates themselves. But this is a sure rule, that if the *Envy* upon the Minister be great, when the cause of it in him is small; or if the *Envy* be general, in a manner, upon all the Ministers of an Estate, then the *Envy* (though hidden) is truly upon the State it self. And so much of *publick Envy* or *Discontentment*, and the difference thereof from *private Envy*, which was handled in the first place.

We will add this in general, touching the Affection of *Envy*; that, of all other Affections,

ctions, it is the most importune and continual. For of other Affections there is occasion given but now and then. And therefore it was well said, *Invidia festos dies non agit.* For it is ever working upon some or other. And it is also noted, that *Love* and *Envy* do make a Man pine, which other Affections do not; because they are not so continual. It is also the vilest Affection, and the most depraved: for which cause it is the proper Attribute of the Devil, who is called, *The Envious Man, that soweth Tares amongst the wheat by night*: as it always cometh to pass, that *Envy* worketh subtily, and in the dark; and to the prejudice of good things, such as is the *wheat*.

Of Love.

X.

THe Stage is more beholding to *Love*, than the Life of Man. For, as to the Stage, *Love* is even matter of Comedies, and now and then of Tragedies: but in Life it doth much mischief; sometimes like a *Syren*, sometimes like a *Fury*. You may observe, that amongst all the great and worthy

Persons

Persons (whereof the Memory remaineth, either Ancient, or Recent) there is not One that hath been transported to the madd degree of *Love*: which shews, that great Spirits, and great Businesses, do keep out this weak Passion. You must except nevertheless, *Marcus Antonius*, the half-Partner of the Empire of *Rome*; and *Appius Claudius* the *Decem-vir*, and Law-giver: whereof the Former was indeed a Voluptuous Man, and Inordinate; but the Latter was an Austere and Wise Man. And therefore it seems, (though rarely) that *Love* can find entrance, not only into an open Heart, but also into a Heart well fortified, if watch be not well kept. It is a poor Saying of *Epicurus*, *Satis magnum Alter Alteri Theatrum sumus*. As if Man, made for the contemplation of Heaven, and all Noble Objects, should do nothing but kneel before a little Idol, and make himself a Subject, though not of the Mouth (as Beasts are) yet of the Eye, which was given him for higher purposes. It is a strange thing to note the Excess of this Passion; and how it braves the Nature and Value of things by this, that the speaking in a perpetual *Hyperbole* is comely in nothing, but in *Love*. Neither is it meerly in the Phrase: for, whereas it hath been well

well said, that the Arch-flatterer, with whom all the petty Flatterers have intelligence, is a Man's self; certainly, the *Love* is more. For, there was never proud Man thought so absurdly well of himself, as the *Lover* doth of the Person *loved*: and therefore it was well said, That *it is impossible to Love, and to be Wise*. Neither doth this weakness appear to others only, and not to the Party *loved*: but to the *loved* most of all; except the *Love* be reciproque: for it is a true rule, that *Love* is ever rewarded, either with the reciproque, or with an inward and secret Contempt. By how much the more men ought to beware of this Passion, which loseth not only other things, but itself. As for the other losses, the *Poets* Relation doth well figure them; that He that preferreth *Helena*, quitted the gifts of *Juno* and *Pallas*, for whoso ever esteemeth too much of amorous Affection, quitteth both *Riches* and *Wisdom*. This Passion hath his Floods in the very times of Weakness: which are great *Prosperity*, and great *Adversity*; though this latter hath been less observed. Both which times kindle *Love*, and make it more frequent, and therefore shew it to be the Child of Folly. They do best, who, if they cannot but admit *Love*, yet make it keep

Quarter,

Quarter, and sever it wholly from their serious Affairs, and Actions of Life; for if it check once with Businesse, it troubleth mens Fortunes, and maketh them that they cannot way-ebe true to their own Ends. I know not how, but martial men are given to Love: I think it is but as they are given to Wine; for Perils commonly ask to be paid in Pleasures. There is in man's Nature a secret Propension and Motion towards Love of others, which if it be not spent upon some one, or a few; doth naturally spread it self towards many, and maketh men become Humane and Charitable, as it is seen sometime in Friars. Nuptial Love maketh Mankind; Friendly Love perfecteth it, but Wanton Love corrupteth and imbaseth it.

Of Great Place.

XL.

MEn in Great Place are thrice Servants: Servants of the Soveraign or State; Servants of Fame; and Servants of Businesse. So as they have no Freedome, neither in their Persons; nor in their Actions, nor

nor in their *Times*. It is a strange desire to seek *Power*, and to lose *Liberty*; or to seek Power over *others*, and to lose Power over a *Mans Self*. The Rising unto *Place* is laborious; and by *Paines* men come to greater *Paines*: and it is sometimes base; and by *Indignities* men come to *Dignities*. The Standing is Slippery, and the Regresse is either a Downfall, or at least an Eclipse, which is a melancholy thing. *Cum non sis, qui fueris, non esse, cur velis vivere.* Nay, retire men cannot when they would, neither will they, when it were Reason: but are impatient of Privateness, even in Age and Sickness, which require the Shadow: Like old Townsmen, that will be still sitting at their Street-door, though thereby they offer Age to Scorn. Certainly Great Persons had need to borrow other mens Opinions, to think themselves happy; for if they judge by their own Feeling, they cannot find it: but if they think with themselves what other men think of them, and that other men would faine be as they are, then they are happy, as it were by report, when perhaps they find the contrary within. For they are the first that find their own griefs, though they be the last that find their own faults. Certainly, Men in great Fortunes are strangers to themselves,

and

and while they are in the puzzle of Business, they have no time to tend their Health, either of body or mind. *Illi Mors gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi.* In *Place*, there is licence to do Good and Evil, whereof the latter is a curse; for in Evil, the best condition is not to Will, the second not to Can. But power to do good, is the true and lawfull end of aspiring: for good thoughts (though God accept them,) yet towards Men are little better than good dreams, except they be put in Act; and that cannot be without Power and Place, as the Vantage and Commanding Ground. Merit and good Works is the end of mans motion; and Conscience of the same is the accomplishment of mans rest: for if a man can be partaker of Gods Theater; he shall likewise be partaker of Gods Rest. *Et conversus Deus, ut aspiceret Opera, quæ fecerunt manus suæ, vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis*; and then the Sabbath. In the Discharge of the *Place*, set before thee the best Examples; for Imitation is a Globe of Precepts. And after a time set before thee thine own Example; and examine thy self strictly, whether thou didst not best at first. Neglect not also the Examples of those that have carried themselves ill in the same *Place*: not to set

off

off thy self by taxing their memory; but to direct thy self what to avoid. Reform therefore, without bravery or scandal of former Times and Persons; but yet set it down to thy self, as well to create good Presidents, as to follow them. Reduce things to the first Institution, and observe wherein, and how they have degenerate; but yet ask Counsel of both Times, of the Ancienter Time what is best, and of the Latter Time what is fittest. Seek to make thy Course Regular, that men may know before-hand what they may expect; but be not too positive and peremptory; and expresse thy self well when thou digressest from thy Rule. Preserve the right of thy *Place*; but stirre not questions of Jurisdiction, and rather assume thy Right in Silence and *de facto*, than voice it with Claims and Challenges. Preserve likewise the Rights of Inferiour *Places*; and think it more Honour to direct in chief, than to be busie in all. Embrace and invite Helps and Advices touching the Execution of thy *Place*; and do not drive away such as bring the Information, as medlers; but accept of them in good part. The Vices of *Authority* are chiefly four; *Delayes, Corruption, Roughnesse*, and *Facility*. For *Delayes*, Give easie access, Keep Times appointed, Goe through with

that

that which is in hand, and intericace not business but of necessity. For *Corruption*, Do not only bind thine own hands, or thy Servants hands from taking, but bind the hands of Suitours also from offering: For Integrity used, doth the one; but Integrity professed, and with a manifest detestation of Bribery, doth the other. And avoid not only the Fault, but the Suspicion. Whosoever is found variable, and changeth manifestly, without manifest Cause, giveth suspicion of *Corruption*. Therefore alwayes when thou changest thine Opinion or Course, profess it plainly, and declare it, together with the Reasons that move thee to change, and do not think to steal it. A Servant, or a Favourite, if he be inward, and no other apparent Cause of Esteem, is commonly thought but a By-way to close *Corruption*. For *Roughness*, It is a needless cause of *Discontent*; *Severity* breedeth Fear, but *Roughness* breedeth Hate. Even Reproofs from Authority ought to be grave, and not taunting. As for *Facility*, It is worse than Bribery: for Bribes come but now and then, but if Importunity, or idle Respects lead a Man, he shall never be without, as *Solomon* saith: *To respect Persons is not good; for such a Man will transgress for a piece of bread.*

It

It is most true that was anciently spoken; *A Place sheweth the Man*: and it sheweth some to the better, and some to the worse: *Omnium consensu capax Imperii, nisi imperasset*; saith *Tacitus* of *Galba*: but of *Vespasian* he saith; *Solus Imperantium Vespasianus mutatus in melius*. Though the one was meant of Sufficiency, the other of Manners and Affection. It is an assured Sign of a worthy and generous Spirit, whom *Honour* amends: for *Honour* is, or should be the place of Vertue; and as in Nature things move violently to their place, and calmly in their place: so Vertue in Ambition is violent, in Authority setled and calm. All rising to *Great Place*, is by a winding Stair; and if there be Factions, it is good to side a Mans self, whilest he is in the Rising; and to ballance himself when he is placed. Use the memory of thy Predecessour fairly and tenderly; for if thou dost not, it is a debt will sure be paid when thou art gone. If thou have Colleagues, respect them, and rather call them when they look not for it, than exclude them when they have reason to look to be called. Be not too sensible, or too remembring of thy Place in Conversation, and private Answers to Suitours; but let it rather be said; *When he sits in Place, he is another Man*.

Of

Of Boldneſs.

XII.

IT is a trivial Grammer-School Text, but yet worthy a wiſe *Mans* conſideration. Queſtion was asked of *Demoſthenes*, *What was the chief part of an Oratour?* He anſwered, *Action*; What next? *Action*; What next again? *Action*: He ſaid it that knew it beſt, and had by nature himſelf no advantage in that he commended. A ſtrange thing, that that part of an Oratour which is but ſuperficial, and rather the vertue of a Player, ſhould be placed ſo high above thoſe other noble parts of *Invention*, *Elocution*, and the reſt: Nay almoſt alone; as if it were All in All. But the reaſon is plain. There is in humane Nature generally more of the Fool, than of the Wiſe; and therefore thoſe faculties, by which the fooliſh part of mens minds is taken, are moſt potent. Wonderfull like is the caſe of *Boldneſs* in Civil buſineſs: What firſt? *Boldneſs*; What ſecond and third? *Boldneſs*. And yet *Boldneſs* is a Child of Ignorance and Baſeneſs, farr inferiour to other parts. But nevertheleſs it doth faſci-

fascinate, and bind hand and foot, those that are either shallow in judgement, or weak in courage, which are the greatest part; yea, and prevaileth with wise men at weak times. Therefore we see it hath done Wonders in popular States, but with Senates and Princes lesse; and more ever upon the first entrance of *Bold Persons* into Action, than soon after: for *Boldnesse* is an ill Keeper of promise. Surely, as there are *Mountebanques* for the Natural Body, so are there *Mountebanques* for the Politick Body: Men that undertake great Cures, and perhaps have been lucky in two or three Experiments, but want the grounds of Science, and therefore cannot hold out. Nay, you shall see a *Bold Fellow* many times do *Mahomet's* miracle. *Mahomet* made the people believe, that he would call an Hill to him, and from the top of it offer up his Prayers for the observers of his Law. The people assembled, *Mahomet* called the Hill to come to him again and again; and when the Hill stood still, he was never a whit abashed, but said; *If the Hill will not come to* Mahomet, Mahomet *will goe to the Hill.* So these men, when they have promised great matters, and failed most shamefully, yet (if they have the perfection of *Boldnesse*) they will but slight it over, and make

make a turn, and no more adoe. Certainly to men of great judgement, *Bold* perſons are a ſport to behold; nay, and to the Vulgar alſo, *Boldneſs* hath ſomewhat of the Ridiculous. For if abſurdity be the ſubject of laughter, doubt you not, but great *Boldneſs* is ſeldome without ſome abſurdity. Eſpecially it is a ſport to ſee, when a *Bold* fellow is out of countenance; for that puts his face into a moſt ſhrunken and wooden poſture; as needs it muſt: for in baſhfulneſs the Spirits do a little goe and come, but with *Bold* men, upon like occaſion, they ſtand at a ſtay, like a Stale at Chefs, where it is no Mate, but yet the Game cannot ſtirr. But this laſt were fitter for a Satyr, than for a ſerious Obſervation. This is well to be weighed, That *Boldneſs* is ever blind; for it ſeeth not dangers and inconveniencies; therefore it is ill in Counſel, good in Execution: ſo that the right uſe of *Bold* perſons is, that they never Command in Chief, but be Seconds, and under the direction of others. For in Counſel it is good to ſee Dangers, and in Execution not to ſee them, except they be very great.

Of Goodness and Goodness of Nature.

XIII.

I Take *Goodness* in this sense, the affecting of the weal of Men, which is that the Grecians call *Philanthropia*; and the Word *Humanity* (as it is used) is a little too light to express it. *Goodness* I call the Habit, and *Goodness of Nature* the Inclination. This of all Vertues and Dignities of the mind is the greatest, being the Character of the Deity; and without it Man is a busie, mischievous, wretched thing; no better than a kind of Vermine. *Goodness* answers to the *Theological Vertue Charity*, and admits no excess, but Errour. The desire of power in excess caused the Angels to fall, the desire of knowledge in excess caused Man to fall: but in *Charity* there is no excess, neither can Angel or Man come in danger by it. The inclination to *Goodness* is imprinted deeply in the nature of man, Insomuch, that if it issue not towards men, it will take unto other living Creatures; as it is seen in the *Turks*, a cruel people, who nevertheless are kind to Beasts, and

and give Almes to Dogs and Birds; Inſomuch as *Busbechius* reporteth, a Chriſtian Boy in *Conſtantinople* had like to have been ſtoned, for gigging, in a waggiſhneſs, a long Billed Fowl. Errours indeed, in this Vertue of *Goodneſs* or *Charity* may be committed. The *Italians* have an ungracious Proverb, *Tanto buon che val niente*; *So good that he is good for nothing.* And one of the Doctors of *Italy*, *Nicholas Machiavel*, had the confidence to put in writing, almoſt in plain terms: *That the Chriſtian Faith had given up good men in prey, to thoſe that are tyrannical and unjuſt*: which he ſpake, becauſe indeed there was never Law, or Sect, or Opinion, did ſo much magnifie *Goodneſs*, as the Chriſtian Religion doth: therefore, to avoid the Scandal, and the Danger both, it is good to take knowledge of the errours of an Habit ſo excellent. Seek the Good of other men, but be not in bondage to their faces or fancies; for that is but facility or ſoftneſs, which taketh an honeſt mind priſoner. Neither give thou *Æſop's* Cock a Gemm, who would be better pleaſed and happier if he had had a Barly Corn. The Example of God teacheth the Leſſon truly: *He ſendeth his Rain, and maketh his Sun to ſhine upon the Juſt and Unjuſt*, but he doth

not rain Wealth, nor shine Honour and Vertues upon men equally. Common Benefits are to be communicated with all; but peculiar benefits with choice. And beware, how in making the Portraiture, thou breakest the Pattern; for Divinity maketh the love of our Selves the Pattern; the love of our Neighbours but the Portraiture. *Sell all thou hast, and give it to the poor, and follow me*: but sell not all thou hast, except thou come, and follow me; that is, except thou have a Vocation, wherein thou mayest do as much good with little means, as with great: for otherwise, in feeding the Streams, thou dryest the Fountain. Neither is there only a *Habit* of *Goodness*, directed by right reason: but there is in some men, even in Nature, a disposition towards it; as on the other side, there is a naturai malignity. For there be that in their Nature do not affect the good of others. The lighter sort of malignity turneth but to a crossenes, or frowardnes, or aptnes to oppose, or difficilenes, or the like; but the deeper sort to envy and meer mischief. Such men in other mens calamities, are as it were in season, and are ever on the loading part; not so good as the Doggs that licked *Lazarus* sores, but like Flies, that are still buzzing upon any thing that is raw;

Misan-

Miſanthropi, that make it their practice to bring men to the Bough, and yet have never a Tree for the purpoſe in their Gardens, as *Timon* had. Such diſpoſitions are the very errours of humane Nature; and yet they are the fitteſt Timber to make great Politicks of: Like to knee Timber, that is good for Ships that are ordained to be toſſed, but not for building Houſes, that ſhall ſtand firm. The parts and ſigns of *Goodneſs* are many. If a man be gracious and courteous to Strangers, it ſhews he is a Citizen of the World; and that his heart is no Iſland cut off from other Lands, but a Continent that joyns to them. If he be compaſſionate towards the afflictions of others, it ſhews that his heart is like the noble Tree, that is wounded it ſelf, when it gives the Balm. If he eaſily pardons and remits offences, it ſhews that his mind is planted above Injuries, ſo that he cannot be ſhot. If he be thankfull for ſmall benefits, it ſhews that he weighs mens minds, and not their traſh. But above all, if he have Saint *Paul's* perfection, that he would wiſh to be an *Anathema* from Chriſt, for the Salvation of his Brethren, it ſhews much of a Divine Nature, and a kind of conformity with *Chriſt* himſelf.

Of Nobility.

XIV.

WE will speak of *Nobility*, First as a *Portion* of an *Estate*, then as a *Condition* of *Particular Persons*. A *Monarchy*, where there is no *Nobility* at all, is ever a pure and absolute *Tyranny*, as that of the *Turks*. For *Nobility* attempers *Sovereignty*, and draws the eyes of the People somewhat aside from the *Line Royal*. But for *Democracies* they need it not: and they are commonly more quiet, and less subject to Sedition, than where there are Stirps of *Nobles*. For mens eyes are upon the business, and not upon the persons; or if upon the persons, it is for the business sake, as fittest, and not for flaggs and pedigree. We see the *Switzers* last well, notwithstanding their diversity of Religion, and of Cantons: for Utility is their Bond, and not Respects. The United Provinces of the Low-Countries in their Government excell: for where there is an Equality, the Consultations are more indifferent, and the payments and tributes more chearful. A great and potent *Nobility* addeth

addeth Majesty to a Monarch, but diminisheth Power; & putteth Life & Spirit into the People, but presseth their Fortune. It is well when *Nobles* are not too great for Soveraignty, nor for Justice; and yet maintained in that height, as the Insolency of Inferiours may be broken upon them, before it come on too fast upon the Majesty of Kings. A numerous *Nobility* causeth Poverty and Inconvenience in a State: for it is a Surcharge of Expence, and besides, it being of Necessity that many of the *Nobility* fall in time to be weak in Fortune, it maketh a kind of Disproportion between Honour and Means.

As for *Nobility* in *Particular Persons*; It is a reverend thing to see an ancient Castle or Building not in decay, or to see a fair Timber Tree sound and perfect: how much more to behold an Ancient *Noble Family*, which hath stood against the Waves and Weathers of Time. For New *Nobility* is but the Act of Power; but Ancient *Nobility* is the Act of Time. Those that are first raised to *Nobility*, are commonly more Vertuous, but less Innocent than their Descendants; for there is rarely any Rising, but by a Commixture of good and evil Arts. But it is reason the memory of their Vertues remain to their Posterity; and their faults dye with

themselves. *Nobility* of *Birth* commonly abateth Industry; and he that is not industrious, envieth him that is. Besides, *Noble Persons* cannot goe much higher, and he that standeth at a stay when others rise, can hardly avoid motions of Envy. On the other side, *Nobility* extinguisheth the passive Envy from others towards them; because they are in possession of Honour. Certainly Kings, that have able Men of their *Nobility*, shall find ease in employing them, and a better slide into their Business: for People naturally bend to them, as born in some sort to command.

Of Seditions and Troubles.

XV.

Shepheards of *People* had need know the *Kalendars* of *Tempests* in *State*; which are commonly greatest when things grow to equality; as naturall Tempests are greatest about the *Æquinoctia*. And as there are certain hollow blasts of Wind, and secret swellings of Seas, before a Tempest, so are there in States:

— *Ille*

—— Ille etiam cæcos instare Tumultus
Sæpe monet, Fraudesque & operta tumescere Bella.

Libels and Licentious Discourses against the State, when they are frequent and open; and in like sort, false News often running up and down to the disadvantage of the State, and hastily embraced; are amongst the Signs of *Troubles*. *Virgil* giving the Pedigree of *Fame*, saith, *She was Sister to the Giants*.

Illam Terra Parens ira irritata Deorum,
Extremam (ut perhibent) Cœo Enceladoque sororem
Progenuit, ——.

As if *Fames* were the Reliques of *Seditions* past; but they are no less indeed, the Preludes of *Seditions* to come. Howsoever he noteth it right, That *Seditious Tumults*, and *Seditious Fames*, differ no more but as Brother and Sister, Masculine and Feminine; especially if it come to that, that the best Actions of a State, and the most plausible, and which ought to give greatest contentment, are taken in ill Sense, and traduced: for that shews the envy great, as *Tacitus*

saith; *Conflata magna Invidia, seu bene, seu male, gesta premunt.* Neither doth it follow, that because these *Fames* are a sign of *Troubles*, that the suppressing of them with too much Severity, should be a Remedy of *Troubles*: for the despising of them, many times, checks them best; and the going about to stop them, doth but make a Wonder Long-liv'd.

Also that kind of Obedience which *Tacitus* speaketh of, is to be held suspected; *Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent mandata Imperantium interpretari, quàm exsequi*; Disputing, Excusing, Cavilling upon Mandates and Directions, is a kind of shaking off the yoak, and assay of disobedience; especially, if in those disputings, they which are for the direction, speak fearfully and tenderly, and those that are against it, audaciously.

Also, as *Machiavel* noteth well; when Princes that ought to be Common Parents, make themselves as a Party, and lean to a side, it is a Boat that is overthrown by uneven weight on the one side; as was well seen in the time of *Henry* the third of *France*: for first himself entred League for the Extirpation of the *Protestants*, and presently after the same League was turned upon himself:

for,

for, when the Authority of Princes is made but an Accessary to a Cause, and that there be other Bands that tye faster than the Band of Soveraignty, Kings begin to be almost put out of Possession.

Also, when Discords, and Quarrels, and Factions are carried openly and audaciously, it is a sign the Reverence of Government is lost. For the Motions of the greatest Persons in a Government, ought to be as the Motions of the Planets under *Primum Mobile*, (according to the old Opinion:) which is, that every of them is carried swiftly by the Highest Motion, and softly in their own Motion. And therefore when great Ones in their own particular Motion move violently; and as *Tacitus* expresseth it well, *Liberius quam ut Imperantium meminissent*, it is a sign the Orbs are out of Frame: for Reverence is that wherewith Princes are girt from God, who threateneth the dissolving thereof; *Solvam cingula Regum.*

So when any of the four Pillars of Government are mainly shaken or weakned, (which are *Religion*; *Justice*; *Counsel*, and *Treasure*,) Men had need to pray for fair Weather.

But let us pass from this Part of Predictions, (concerning which, nevertheless, more light

light may be taken from that which followeth,) and let us speak first of the *Materials* of *Seditions*, Then of the *Motives* of them, And thirdly of the *Remedies*.

Concerning the *Materials* of *Seditions*. It is a thing well to be considered: For the surest way to prevent *Seditions* (if the Times do bear it) is to take away the *Matter* of them. For if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to tell whence the Spark shall come that shall set it on fire. The *Matter* of *Seditions* is of two kinds; *much Poverty*, and *much Discontentment*. It is certain, so many *Overthrown Estates*, so many Votes for *Troubles*. *Lucan* noteth well the *State* of *Rome* before the Civil War:

Hinc Usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore Fœnus.
Hinc concussa Fides, & multis utile Bellum.

This same *Multis utile Bellum* is an assured and infallible sign of a State disposed to *Seditions* and *Troubles*. And if this *Poverty* and broken Estate, in the better Sort, be joyned with a want and necessity in the mean People, the danger is imminent and great, for the Rebellions of the Belly are the worst. As for

for *Discontentments*, they are in the Politick Body like to Humours in the Natural, which are apt to gather a preter-natural Heat, and to Enflame. And let no Prince measure the Danger of them by this, whether they be Just or Unjust: for that were to imagine People to be too reasonable, who do often spurn at their own Good: nor yet by this, whether the Griefs whereupon they rise, be in fact great or small: for they are the most dangerous *Discontentments*, where the Fear is greater than the feeling. *Dolendi modus, Timendi non item.* Besides, in great Oppressions, the same things that provoke the Patience, do withall mate the Courage; but in Fears it is not so. Neither let any Prince or State be secure concerning *Discontentments*, because they have been often, or have been long, and yet no Peril hath ensued; for as it is true, that every Vapour or Fume doth not turn into a Storm: So it is nevertheless true, that Storms, though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last: And as the Spanish Proverb noteth well, *The Cord breaketh at the last by the weakest pull.*

The *Causes* and *Motives* of *Seditions* are, *Innovation in Religion, Taxes, Alteration of Laws and Customes, Breaking of Priviledges, General Oppression, Advancement of unworthy Persons,*

Perſons, *Strangers*, *Dearths*, *Diſbanded Souldiers*, *Factions grown deſperate*. And whatſoever in offending People, joyneth and knitteth them in a Common Cauſe.

For the *Remedies*; there may be ſome general Preſervatives, whereof we will ſpeak; as for the juſt Cure, it muſt anſwer to the particular Diſeaſe, and ſo be left to Counſel, rather than Rule.

The firſt *Remedy* or Prevention is, to remove by all means poſſible that *Material Cauſe* of *Sedition*, whereof we ſpeak, which is *Want* and *Poverty* in the *Eſtate*. To which purpoſe ſerveth the Opening and well Balancing of Trade, the Cheriſhing of Manufactures, the Baniſhing of Idleneſs, the Repreſſing of Waſte and Exceſs by Sumptuary Laws, the Improvement and Husbanding of the Soyl, the Regulating of Prices of Things vendible, the Moderating of Taxes and Tributes, and the like. Generally it is to be foreſeen, that the Population of a Kingdom (eſpecially if it be not mowen down by Wars) do not exceed the Stock of the Kingdom, which ſhould maintain them. Neither is the Population to be reckoned only by number: for a ſmaller number that ſpend more, and earn leſs, do wear out an Eſtate ſooner, than a greater number that live lower,

and

and gather more. Therefore the multiplying of Nobility, and other Degrees of Quality, in an over Proportion to the Common People, doth speedily bring a State to Neceſſity: and ſo doth likewiſe an over-grown Clergy, for they bring nothing to the Stock. And in like manner, when more are bred Scholars, than Preferments can take off.

It is likewiſe to be remembred, that for as much as the increaſe of any Eſtate muſt be upon the Foreigner, (for whatſoever is ſomewhere gotten, is ſomewhere loſt) There be but three things which one Nation ſelleth unto another; the *Commodity* as Nature yieldeth it; the *Manufacture*; and the *Vi-ture* or *Carriage*: So that if theſe three wheels goe, Wealth will flow as in a Spring-tyde. And it cometh many times to paſs, that *Materiam ſuperabit Opus*; that the Work and Carriage is more worth, than the Material, and enricheth a State more: as is notably ſeen in the *Low-Country-men*, who have the beſt Mines above ground in the World.

Above all things good Policy is to be uſed, that the Treaſure and Moneys in a State be not gathered into few Hands. For otherwiſe a State may have a great Stock, and yet ſtarve. And Money is like Muck, not good except

except it be spread. This is done chiefly by suppressing, or at the least keeping a straight Hand upon the Devouring Trades of *Usury*, *Ingrossing*, great *Pasturages*, and the like.

For removing *Discontentments*, or at least the danger of them, there is in every State (as we know) two portions of *Subjects*, the *Nobless*, and the *Commonalty*. When one of these is *Discontent*, the danger is not great, for common people are of slow motion, if they be not excited by the greater sort, and the greater sort are of small strength, except the multitude be apt and ready to move of themselves. Then is the danger, when the greater sort do but wait for the troubling of the Waters amongst the meaner, that then they may declare themselves. The Poets feign, that the rest of the Gods would have bound *Jupiter*, which he hearing of, by the counsel of *Pallas*, sent for *Briarius* with his hundred hands, to come in to his aid. An Emblem no doubt, to shew how safe it is for Monarchs to make sure of the good will of common people.

To give moderate liberty for Griefs and *Discontentments* to evaporate, (so it be without too great insolency or bravery) is a safe way. For he that turneth the Humours back, and maketh the Wound bleed inwards, endanger-

dangereth malign Ulcers, and pernicious Impostumations.

The part of *Epimetheus* mought well become *Prometheus* in the case of *Discontentments*; for there is not a better provision against them. *Epimetheus*, when griefs and evils flew abroad, at last shut the Lid, and kept Hope in the bottom of the Vessel. Certainly, the politick and artificial nourishing and entertaining of *Hopes*, and carrying men from *Hopes* to *Hopes*, is one of the best Antidotes against the Poyson of *Discontentments*. And it is a certain sign of a wise Government and Proceeding, when it can hold mens hearts by *Hopes*, when it cannot by Satisfaction; and when it can handle things in such manner, as no evil shall appear so peremptory, but that it hath some out-let of *Hope*; which is the less hard to do, because both particular Persons and Factions are apt enough to flatter themselves, or at least to brave that which they believe not.

Also the fore-sight and prevention, that there be no likely or fit Head, whereunto *Discontented Persons* may resort, and under whom they may joyn, is a known, but an excellent point of caution. I understand a fit Head to be one that hath Greatness and Reputation, that hath Confidence with the *Discontented*

Contented Party, and upon whom they turn their eyes; and that is thought *Discontented* in his own particular, which kind of persons are either to be won, and reconciled to the State, and that in a fast and true manner; or to be fronted with some other of the same Party that may oppose them, and so divide the Reputation. Generally the dividing and breaking of all Factions and Combinations that are adverse to the State, and setting them at distance, or at least distrust among themselves, is not one of the worst *Remedies*. For it is a desperate case, if those that hold with the proceeding of the State, be full of Discord and Faction; and those that are against it be Entire and United.

I have noted, that some witty and sharp Speeches, which have fallen from *Princes*, have given fire to *Seditions*. *Cæsar* did himself infinite hurt in that Speech, *Sylla nescivit literas, non potuit dictare*: for it did utterly cut off that *Hope*, which men had entertained, that he would at one time or other give over his Dictatorship. *Galba* undid himself by that Speech, *Legi à similitem, non emi*: for it put the Souldiers out of Hope of the Donative. *Probus* likewise by that Speech, *Si vixero non opus erit amplius Romano Imperio militibus*: A Speech of great despair for the Souldiers:

Souldiers: And many the like. Surely *Princes* had need, in tender matter, and ticklish times, to beware what they say; especially in these short Speeches, which flye abroad like Darts, and are thought to be shot out of their secret Intentions. For as for large Discourses, they are flat things, and not so much noted.

Lastly, Let Princes against all Events not be without some great Person, one, or rather more, of Military Valour near unto them, for the repressing of *Seditions* in their beginnings. For without that, there useth to be more tripidation in Court, upon the first breaking out of *Troubles*, than were fit. And the *State* runneth the danger of that, which *Tacitus* saith; *Atque ita habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur.* But let such Military Persons be assured, and well reputed of, rather than Factious and Popular, holding also good correspondence with the other great Men in the *State*, or else the Remedy is worse than the Disease.

Of Atheisme.

XVI.

I Had rather believe all the Fables in the *Legend*, and the *Talmud*, and the *Alcoran*, than that this universal Frame is without a mind. And therefore God never wrought Miracle to convince *Atheisme*, because his ordinary Works convince it. It is true, that a little Philosophy inclineth Mans mind to *Atheisme*, but depth in Philosophy bringeth Mens minds about to *Religion*. For while the mind of Man looketh upon second Causes scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and goe no further: but when it beholdeth the Chain of them Confederate and Linked together, it must needs flye to *Providence* and *Deity*. Nay, even that *School* which is most accused of *Atheisme*, doth most demonstrate *Religion*; That is, the *School* of *Leucippus*, and *Democritus*, and *Epicurus*. For it is a thousand times more credible, that four mutable Elements, and one immutable fifth Essence, duely and eternally placed, need no God, than that an Army of infinite small Portions, or Seeds unplaced, should have

have produced this order and beauty without a Divine Marſhal. The Scripture ſaith, *The Fool hath ſaid in his heart, There is no God*: It is not ſaid, *The Fool hath thought in his heart*: So as he rather ſaith it by rote to himſelf, as that he would have, than that he can throughly believe it, or be perſwaded of it. For none deny, there is a *God*, but thoſe for whom it maketh that there were no God. It appeareth in nothing more, that *Atheiſme* is rather in the *Lip*, than in the *Heart* of Man, than by this; That *Atheiſts* will ever be talking of that their Opinion, as if they fainted in it within themſelves, and would be glad to be ſtrengthened by the conſent of others: Nay more, you ſhall have *Atheiſts* ſtrive to get *Diſciples*, as it fareth with other Sects. And, which is moſt of all, you ſhall have of them that will ſuffer for *Atheiſme*, and not recant; whereas if they did truly think, that there were no ſuch thing as *God*, why ſhould they trouble themſelves? *Epicurus* is charged, that he did but diſſemble for his credits ſake, when he affirmed, There were *Bleſſed Natures*, but ſuch as enjoyed themſelves, without having reſpect to the Government of the World: Wherein, they ſay, he did temporize; though in ſecret he thought there was no God. But certainly he

he is traduced; for his Words are Noble and Divine; *Non Deos vulgi negare profanum, sed vulgi Opiniones Diis applicare profanum.* *Plato* could have said no more. And although he had the confidence to deny the *Administration*, he had not the power to deny the *Nature*. The *Indians* of the *West* have names for their particular *gods*, though they have no name for *God*; as if the *Heathens* should have had the names, *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, *Mars*, &c. but not the word *Deus*; which shews, that even those barbarous people have the notion, though they have not the latitude and extent of it. So that against *Atheists* the very Savages take part with the very subtilest Philosophers. The Contemplative *Atheist* is rare: A *Diagoras*, a *Bion*, a *Lucian* perhaps, and some others; and yet they seem to be more than they are: For that all that impugn a received *Religion* or *Superstition*, are by the adverse part branded with the name of *Atheists*. But the great *Atheists* indeed are *Hypocrites*, which are ever handling Holy things, but without feeling; so as they must needs be cauterized in the end. The *Causes* of *Atheisme* are *Divisions* in *Religion*, if they be many: for any one main Division addeth Zeal to both sides, but many Divisions introduce *Atheisme*. Another is, *Scandal* of *Priests*,

Priests, when it is come to that, which Saint *Bernard* saith, *Non est jam dicere, ut populus, sic sacerdos: quia nec sic populus, ut sacerdos.* A third is, Custome of *Prophane Scoffing* in *Holy Matters*, which doth by little and little deface the Reverence of Religion. And lastly, *Learned Times*, specially with peace and prosperity: for troubles and adversities do more bow Mens minds to *Religion*. They that deny a *God*, destroy Mans Nobility: for certainly Man is of kinn to the Beasts by his Body; and if he be not of kinn to *God* by his Spirit, he is a base and ignoble Creature. It destroys likewise Magnanimity, and the raising of humane Nature: for take an example of a Dogg, and mark what a generosity and courage he will put on, when he finds himself maintained by a Man, who to him is in stead of a *God*, or *Melior natura*: Which courage is manifestly such, as that Creature without that confidence of a better Nature than his own, could never attain. So Man, when he resteth and assureth himself upon Divine protection and favour, gathereth a force and faith, which humane Nature in it self could not obtain. Therefore as *Atheisme* is in all respects hatefull, so in this, that it depriveth humane Nature of the means to exalt it self above humane Frailty. As it

is

is in particular Persons, so it is in Nations. Never was there such a *State* for Magnanimity, as *Rome*. Of this *State* hear what *Cicero* saith; *Quamvolumus, licet, patres conscripti, nos amemus tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos; nec denique hoc ipso hujus Gentis & Terræ domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos & Latinos; sed Pietate ac Religione, atque hac una Sapientia, quod Deorum Immortalium Numine, omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus, omnes Gentes Nationesque superavimus.*

Of Superstition.

XVII.

IT were better to have no opinion of *God* at all, than such an opinion as is unworthy of him: For the one is Unbelief, the other is Contumely, and certainly *Superstition* is the reproach of the *Deity*. *Plutarch* saith well to that purpose: *Surely* (saith he) *I had rather a great deal men should say, there was no such man at all as* Plutarch, *than that they should say, that there was one* Plutarch,

that

that would eat his Children as soon as they were born; as the Poets speak of *Saturn*. And as the Contumely is greater towards *God*, so the Danger is greater towards Men. *Atheisme* leaves a Man to Sense, to Philosophy, to natural Piety, to Laws, to Reputation; all which may be guides to an outward moral Vertue, though *Religion* were not: But *Superstition* dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute Monarchy in the minds of men. Therefore *Atheisme* did never perturb *States*; for it makes men wary of themselves, as looking no further: And we see the times inclined to *Atheisme* (as the time of *Augustus Cæsar*) were civil times. But *Superstition* hath been the confusion of many States, and bringeth in a new *Primum Mobile*, that ravisheth all the Spheers of Government. The Master of *Superstition* is the People; and in all *Superstition* Wise men follow Fools, and Arguments are fitted to Practice in a reversed order. It was gravely said by some of the Prelates in the *Councel* of *Trent*, where the Doctrine of the School-men bare great sway, *That the School-men were like Astronomers, which did feign Eccentricks, and Epicycles, and such engines of Orbs, to save the Phenomena; though they knew there were no such things*: And in like

manner, that the School-men had framed a number of subtile and intricate *Axiomes* and *Theorems*, to save the practice of the Church. The *Causes* of *Superstition* are, Pleasing and sensual Rites and Ceremonies: Excess of Outward and Pharisaical Holiness: Over-great Reverence of Traditions, which cannot but load the Church: the Stratagems of Prelates for their own Ambition and Lucre: the favouring too much of Good Intentions, which openeth the Gate to Conceits and Novelties: the taking an Aim at Divine Matters by Humane, which cannot but breed mixture of Imaginations: And lastly, Barbarous Times, especially joyned with Calamities and Disasters. *Superstition* without a vail is a deformed thing; for, as it addeth deformity to an Ape to be so like a Man: so the similitude of *Superstition* to *Religion* makes it the more deformed. And as wholesome Meat corrupteth to little Worms: so good Forms and Orders corrupt into a Number of petty Observances. There is a *Superstition* in avoiding *Superstition*, when men think to do best, if they goe furthest from the *Superstition* formerly received. Therefore Care would be had, that (as it fareth in ill Purgings) the good be not taken away with the bad, which commonly is done, when the People is the Reformer.

Of Travel.

XVIII.

Travel, in the younger Sort, is a part of Education; in the elder, a part of Experience. He that *Travelleth* into a Country before he hath some Entrance into the Language, goeth to *School*, and not to *Travel*. That young men *Travel* under some Tutour, or grave Servant, I allow well so that he be such a one that hath the Language, and hath been in the Country before, whereby he may be able to tell them, what things are worthy to be seen in the Country where they goe, what Acquaintances they are to seek, what Exercises or Discipline the Place yieldeth. For else young men shall goe hooded, and look abroad little. It is a strange thing, that in Sea-voyages, where there is nothing to be seen but Sky and Sea, men should make Diaries; but in *Land Travel*, wherein so much is to be observed, for the most part they omit it; as if Chance were fitter to be registred than Observation. Let Diaries therefore be brought in use. The things to be seen and observed are, the Courts of Princes, specially when they give Audience

to Embassadours: the Courts of Justice, while they sit and hear Causes; and so of Consistories Ecclesiastick: the Churches and Monasteries, with the Monuments which are therein extant: the Walls and Fortifications of Cities and Towns; and so the Havens and Harbours: Antiquities and Ruines: Libraries, Colleges, Disputations and Lectures, where any are: Shipping and Navies: Houses and Gardens of State and Pleasure near great Cities: Armories, Arsenals, Magazines, Exchanges, Burses, Ware-houses: Exercises of Horsemanship, Fencing, Training of Souldiers, and the like: Comedies; such whereunto the better sort of Persons do resort: Treasuries of Jewels and Robes: Cabinets and Rarities. And to conclude, whatsoever is memorable in the Places where they goe. After all which the Tutours or Servants ought to make diligent enquiry. As for Triumphs, Masques, Feasts, Weddings, Funerals, Capital Executions, and such Shews; Men need not to be put in mind of them; yet are they not to be neglected. If you will have a young man to put his *Travel* into a little room, and in short time to gather much, this you must do. First, as was said, he must have some entrance into the Language before he goeth. Then he must

have ſuch a Servant or Tutour as knoweth the Country, as was likewiſe ſaid. Let him carry with him alſo ſome Card or Book, deſcribing the Country where he *Travelleth*, which will be a good Key to his Enquiry. Let him keep alſo a Diary. Let him not ſtay long in one City or Town, more or leſs, as the Place deſerveth, but not long: Nay, when he ſtayeth in one City or Town, let him change his Lodging from one end and part of the Town to another, which is a great Adamant of Acquaintance. Let him ſequeſter himſelf from the Company of his Country-men, and diet in ſuch Places where there is good Company of the Nation where he *Travelleth*. Let him upon his Removes from one Place to another, procure Recommendation to ſome Perſon of Quality, reſiding in the Place whither he removeth, that he may uſe his Favour in thoſe things he deſireth to ſee or know. Thus he may abridge his *Travels* with much profit. As for the Acquaintance which is to be ſought in *Travel*, that which is moſt of all profitable, is Acquaintance with the Secretaries and employed Men of Embaſſadours; for ſo in *Travelling* in one Country, he ſhall ſuck the experience of many. Let him alſo ſee and viſit eminent Perſons, in all kinds, which

are of great Name abroad; that he may be able to tell how the Life agreeth with the Fame. For Quarrels, they are with Care and Discretion to be avoided: they are commonly for Mistresses, Healths, Place, and Words. And let a Man beware, how he keepeth Company with Cholerick and Quarrelsome Persons, for they will engage him into their own Quarrels. When a *Traveller* returneth home, let him not leave the Countries where he hath *Travelled*, altogether behind him, but maintain a Correspondence by Letters with those of his Acquaintance which are of most Worth. And let his *Travel* appear rather in his Discourse, than in his Apparel or Gesture, and in his Discourse let him be rather advised in his Answers, than forward to tell Stories: And let it appear, that he doth not change his Country Manners for those of Forreign Parts, but only prick in some Flowers of that he hath learned abroad, into the Customes of his own Country.

Of Empire.

XIX.

IT is a miſerable State of Mind, to have few things to deſire, and many things to fear; and yet that commonly is the Caſe of *Kings*, Who being at the higheſt, want matter of deſire, which makes their minds more languiſhing, and have many Repreſentations of Perils and Shadows, which makes their minds the leſs clear. And this is one Reaſon alſo of that effect which the Scripture ſpeaketh of; *That the Kings heart is inſcrutable.* For, multitude of Jealouſies, and lack of ſome predominant deſire that ſhould marſhal and put in order all the reſt, maketh any Mans Heart hard to find or ſound. Hence it comes likewiſe, that *Princes* many times make themſelves Deſires, and ſet their Hearts upon Toyes: ſometimes upon a Building, ſometimes upon erecting of an Order, ſometimes upon the advancing of a Perſon, ſometimes upon obtaining excellency in ſome Art, or Feat of the Hand, as *Nero* for playing on the Harp, *Domitian* for Certainty of the Hand with the Arrow, *Commodus* for playing at Fence, *Caracalla* for

driving Chariots, and the like. This seemeth incredible unto those that know not the Principle; *That the mind of Man is more cheared and refreshed by profiting in small things, than by standing at a stay in great.* We see also that *Kings* that have been fortunate Conquerours in their first years, it being not possible for them to goe forward infinitely, but that they must have some Check or Arrest in their Fortunes, turn in their latter years to be Superstitious and Melancholy: As did *Alexander* the Great, *Diocletian*; and in our memory *Charles* the Fifth, and others: for he that is used to goe forward, and findeth a Stop, falleth out of his own favour, and is not the thing he was.

To speak now of the true Temper of *Empire*: It is a thing rare, and hard to keep; for both Temper and Distemper consist of Contraries. But it is one thing to mingle Contraries, another to enterchange them. The Answer of *Apollonius* to *Vespasian* is full of excellent Instruction; *Vespasian* asked him, *What was* Nero's *Overthrow?* He answered; Nero *could touch and tune the Harp well, but in Government sometimes he used to wind the pins too high, sometimes to let them down too low.* And certain it is, that nothing destroyeth Authority so much, as the unequal

equal and untimely enterchange of Power *Preſſed* too farr, and *Relaxed* too much.

This is true, that the Wiſdom of all theſe latter Times in *Princes* Affairs, is rather fine Deliveries, and Shiftings of Dangers and Miſchiefs, when they are near, than ſolid and grounded Courſes to keep them aloof. But this is but to try Maſteries with Fortune: and let men beware, how they neglect and ſuffer matter of Trouble to be prepared: for no man can forbid the Spark, nor tell whence it may come. The difficulties in *Princes* Buſineſs are many and great; but the greateſt difficulty is often in their own mind. For it is common with *Princes*, (ſaith *Tacitus*) to will Contradictories. *Sunt plerumque Regum voluntates vehementes, & inter ſe contrariæ.* For it is the Solœciſme of Power, to think to Command the End, and yet not endure the Mean.

Kings have to deal with their *Neighbours*, their *Wives*, their *Children*, their *Prelates* or *Clergy*, their *Nobles*, their *Second Nobles* or *Gentlemen*, their *Merchants*, their *Commons*, and their *Men of War*. And from all theſe ariſe Dangers, if Care and Circumſpection be not uſed.

Firſt, for their *Neighbours*: There can no general Rule be given (the Occaſions are

so variable) save one, which ever holdeth, which is, That *Princes* do keep due Centinel, that none of their *Neighbours* do over-grow so, (by increasing of Territory, by embracing of Trade, by Approaches, or the like) as they become more able to annoy them, than they were. And this is generally the work of Standing Councels to foresee, and to hinder it. During that *Triumvirate* of *Kings*, *King Henry* the 8. of *England*, *Francis* the 1. *King* of *France*, and *Charles* the 5. *Emperour*, there was such a Watch kept, that none of the Three could winn a Palm of Ground, but the other Two would straight-wayes ballance it, either by Confederation, or if need were, by a War, and would not in any wise take up Peace at Interest. And the like was done by that League, (which *Guicciardine* saith was the Security of *Italy*) made between *Ferdinando* King of *Naples*, *Lorenzius Medices*, and *Ludovicus Sforza*, *Potentate*, the one of *Florence*, the other of *Millain*. Neither is the Opinion of some of the School-men to be received, *That a War cannot justly be made but upon a precedent Injury or Provocation.* For there is no question, but a just Fear of an imminent Danger, though there be no Blow given, is a lawfull Cause of a War.

For

For their *Wives*: There are cruel examples of them. *Livia* is infamed for the poysoning of her Husband; *Roxalana*, *Solyman*'s Wife, was the destruction of that renowned Prince, *Sultan Mustapha*, and otherwise troubled his House and Succession; *Edward* the second of *England*, his Queen had the principal hand in the deposing and murther of her Husband. This kind of danger is then to be feared, chiefly when the *Wives* have Plots for the raising of their own Children, or else that they be Advoutresses.

For their *Children*: The Tragedies likewise of dangers from them have been many. And generally the entring of Fathers into suspicion of their *Children*, hath been ever unfortunate. The destruction of *Mustapha* (that we named before) was so fatal to *Solyman*'s Line, as the Succession of the *Turks* from *Solyman* untill this day, is suspected to be untrue, and of strange blood; for that *Selymus* the second was thought to be supposititious. The destruction of *Crispus*, a young Prince, of rare towardness, by *Constantinus* the Great, his Father, was in like manner fatal to his House; for both *Constantinus* and *Constance* his Son dyed violent Deaths; and *Constantius* his other Son did little better, who dyed

dyed indeed of Sickness, but after that *Julianus* had taken Armes against him. The destruction of *Demetrius*, Son to *Philip* the Second of *Macedon*, turned upon the Father, who dyed of Repentance. And many like examples there are; but few or none where the Fathers had good by such distrust, except it were where the Sons were up in open Armes against them; as was *Selymus* the first against *Bajazet*, and the three Sons of *Henry* the Second King of *England*.

For their *Prelates*: When they are proud and great, there is also danger from them; as it was in the times of *Anselmus*, and *Thomas Becket*, Arch-bishops of *Canterbury*, who with their Crosiers did almost try it with the Kings Sword; and yet they had to deal with stout and haughty Kings; *William Rufus*, *Henry* the first, and *Henry* the second. The danger is not from the *State*, but where it hath a dependance of foreign Authority; or where the Church-men come in, and are elected, not by the collation of the King, or particular Patrons, but by the People.

For their *Nobles*: To keep them at a distance it is not amiss, but to depress them may make a King more absolute, but less safe, and less able to perform any thing that he desires. I have noted it in my History of King

Henry

Henry the ſeventh of *England*, who depreſſed his *Nobility*; whereupon it came to paſs, that his times were full of Difficulties and Troubles; for the *Nobility*, though they continued loyal unto him, yet did they not co-operate with him in his buſineſs; ſo that in effect he was fain to do all things himſelf.

For their *Second Nobles*: There is not much danger from them, being a Body diſperſed. They may ſometimes diſcourſe high, but that doth little hurt. Beſides, they are a counterpoize to the higher *Nobility*, that they grow not too potent.: And laſtly, being the moſt immediate in Authority with the common People, they do beſt temper popular Commotions.

For their *Merchants*: They are *Vena porta*; and if they flouriſh not, a Kingdom may have good Limbs, but will have empty Veins, and nouriſh little. Taxes and Impoſts upon them, do ſeldome good to the Kings Revenue; for that that he winns in the Hundred, he leeſeth in the Shire; the particular Rates being increaſed, but the total bulk of Trading rather decreaſed.

For their *Commons*: There is little danger from them, except it be where they have great and potent Heads, or where you meddle

meddle with the point of Religion, or their Customes, or means of Life.

For their *Men of War*: It is a dangerous State, where they live and remain in a Body, and are used to Donatives, whereof we see examples in the *Janazaries* and *Pretorian* Bands of *Rome*: But Traynings of Men, and Arming them in several places, and under several Commanders, and without Donatives, are things of Defence, and no Danger.

Princes are like to *Heavenly Bodies*, which cause good or evil times; and which have much *Veneration*, but no *Rest*. All Precepts concerning *Kings*, are in effect comprehended in those two Remembrances; *Memento quod es Homo*, and *Memento quod es Deus*, or *Vice Dei*; the one bridleth their Power, and the other their Will.

Of Counsel.

XX.

THe greatest trust between Man and Man is the trust of *Giving Counsel*: For in other confidences Men commit the parts of Life, their Lands, their Goods, their Children,

dren, their Credit, some particular Affair: But to such as they make their *Counsellours*, they commit the whole, by how much the more they are obliged to all faith and integrity. The wisest *Princes* need not think it any diminution to their Greatness, or derogation to their Sufficiency, to relye upon *Counsel*. *God* himself is not without, but hath made it one of the great Names of his blessed Son; *The Counsellour*. *Solomon* hath pronounced, that *In Counsel is Stability*. Things will have their first or second agitation, if they be not tossed upon the arguments of *Counsel*, they will be tossed upon the waves of *Fortune*, and be full of inconstancy, doing and undoing, like the reeling of a drunken man. *Solomon's* Son found the force of *Counsel*, as his Father saw the necessity of it. For the beloved Kingdom of God was first rent and broken by ill *Counsel*; upon which *Counsel* there are set for instruction the two marks, whereby *Bad Counsel* is for ever best discerned, that it was *young Counsel* for the Persons, and *violent Counsel* for the Matter.

The ancient times do set forth in figure, both the incorporation, and inseparable conjunction of *Counsel* with *Kings*, and the wise and politick use of *Counsel* by *Kings*; the one in that they say, *Jupiter* did marry *Metis*, which

which signifieth *Counsel*, whereby they intend that *Soveraignty* is married to *Counsel*; the other in that which followeth, which was thus: They say after *Jupiter* was married to *Metis*, she conceived by him, and was with Child; but *Jupiter* suffered her not to stay till she brought forth, but eat her up; whereby he became himself with Child, and was delivered of *Pallas Armed* out of his Head; which monstrous Fable containeth a secret of *Empire*, how *Kings* are to make use of their *Counsel* of *State*. That first they ought to referr matters unto them, which is the first begetting or impregnation; but when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped in the womb of their *Counsel*, and grow ripe, and ready to be brought forth, that then they suffer not their *Counsel* to goe through with the resolution and direction, as if it depended on them; but take the matter back into their own hands, and make it appear to the World, that the Decrees and final Directions (which, because they come forth with *Prudence* and *Power*, are resembled to *Pallas Armed*) proceeded from themselves: And not only from their *Authority*, but (the more to add reputation to themselves) from their *Head* and *Device*.

Let

Let us now ſpeak of the *Inconveniencies* of *Counſel*, and of the *Remedies*. The *Inconvenieneies* that have been noted in calling and uſing *Counſel*, are three: Firſt, the revealing of Affairs, whereby they become leſs *Secret*. Secondly, the weakning of the Authority of Princes, as if they were leſs of themſelves. Thirdly, the danger of being unfaithfully *Counſelled*, and more for the good of them that *Counſel*, than of him that is *Counſelled*. For which *Inconveniencies*, the Doctrine of *Italy*, and practice of *France* in ſome Kings times, hath introduced *Cabinet Counſels*; a Remedy worſe than the Diſeaſe.

As to *Secrecy*: *Princes* are not bound to communicate all matters with all *Counſellours*, but may extract and ſelect. Neither is it neceſſary, that he that conſulteth what he ſhould do, ſhould declare what he will do. But let *Princes* beware, that the *unſecreting* of their Affairs comes not from themſelves. And as for *Cabinet Counſels*, it may be their *Motto*; *Plenus rimarum ſum*: One futile perſon, that maketh it his glory to tell, will do more hurt, than many that know it their duty to conceal. It is true, there be ſome Affairs which require extream *Secrecy*, which will hardly goe beyond one or two Perſons beſides

besides the *King*: Neither are those *Counsels* unprosperous; for besides the *Secrecy*, they commonly goe on constantly in one Spirit of Direction without distraction. But then it must be a prudent King, such as is able to grind with a *Hand-mill*; And those *Inward Counsellours* had need also be wise Men, and especially true and trusty to the Kings ends; as it was with King *Henry* the seventh of *England*, who in his greatest business imparted himself to none, except it were to *Morton* and *Fox*.

For *weakning of Authority*: The Fable sheweth the *Remedy*. Nay, the Majesty of Kings is rather exalted than diminished, when they are in the Chair of *Counsel*: Neither was there ever *Prince* bereaved of his dependencies by his *Counsel*, except where there hath been either an over-greatness in one *Counsellour*, or an over-strict combination in divers; which are things soon found and holpen.

For the last *Inconvenience*, that Men will *Counsel with an Eye to themselves*: Certainly, *Non inveniet fidem super terram*, is meant of the nature of times, and not of all particular persons. There be, that are in nature, faithful, and sincere, and plain, and direct; not crafty, and involved: Let *Princes* above all

all draw to themselves such natures. Besides, *Counsellours* are not commonly so united, but that one *Counsellour* keepeth Centinel over another; so that if any do *Counsel*, out of faction, or private ends, it commonly comes to the Kings Ear. But the best *Remedy* is, if *Princes* know their *Counsellours*, as well as their *Counsellours* know them:

Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos.

And on the other side, *Counsellours* should not be too speculative into their Soveraign's Person. The true composition of a *Counsellour*, is rather to be skill'd in their Masters Business, than in his Nature; for then he is like to advise him, and not to feed his humour. It is of singular use to *Princes*, if they take the Opinions of their *Council*, both severally and together. For private opinion is more free, but opinion before others is more reverend. In private, Men are more bold in their own humours; and in consort, Men are more obnoxious to others humours: therefore it is good to take both. And of the inferiour sort, rather in private, to preserve freedome; of the greater, rather in consort, to preserve respect. It is in vain for *Princes* to take *Counsel* concerning *Matters*, if they

take

take no *Counsel* likewise concerning *Persons*: for all *Matters* are as dead Images; and the life of the execution of Affairs resteth in the good choice of *Persons*. Neither is it enough to consult concerning *Persons*, *Secundum genera*, as in an *Idea*, or *Mathematical Description*, what the kind and character of the *Person* should be; for the greatest errours are committed, and the most judgement is shewn in the choice of *Individuals*. It was truly said, *Optimi Consiliarii mortui*; *Books* will speak plain, when *Counsellours* blanch. Therefore it is good to be conversant in them, specially the *Books* of such as themselves have been Actors upon the Stage.

The *Counsels* at this day in most places are but familiar meetings, where Matters are rather talked on than debated. And they run too swift to the Order or Act of *Counsel*. It were better, that in Causes of weight, the Matter were propounded one day, and not spoken to till the next day, *In nocte Consilium*. So was it done in the Commission of *Union* between *England* and *Scotland*, which was a Grave and Orderly Assembly. I commend set dayes for Petitions: for both it gives the Suitours more certainty for their Attendance; and it frees the meetings for Matters of Estate, that they may *Hoc agere*. In choice of

of Committees for ripening Buſineſs for the *Counſel*, it is better to chooſe indifferent Perſons, than to make an Indifferency, by putting in thoſe that are ſtrong on both ſides. I commend alſo *ſtanding Commiſſions*; as for Trade, for Treaſure, for War, for Suits, for ſome Provinces: for where there be divers particular *Counſels*, and but one *Counſel* of Eſtate, (as it is in *Spain*) they are in effect no more than *ſtanding Commiſſions*; ſave that they have greater Authority. Let ſuch as are to inform *Counſels* out of their particular Profeſſions (as Lawyers, Seamen, Mint-men, and the like,) be firſt heard before *Committees*; and then, as occaſion ſerves, before the *Counſel*. And let them not come in multitudes, or in a Tribunitious manner; for that is to clamour *Counſels*, not to inform them. A long Table, and a ſquare Table, or Seats about the Walls, ſeem things of Form, but are things of Subſtance; for at a long Table, a few at the upper end in effect ſway all the Buſineſs; but in the other Form there is more uſe of the *Counſellours* Opinions that ſit lower. A *King*, when he preſides in *Counſel*, let him beware how he Opens his own Inclination too much in that which he propoundeth; for elſe *Counſellours* will but take the Wind of

him;

and in ſtead of giving Free *Counſel*, ſing him a Song of *Placebo*.

Of Delayes.

XXI.

FORTUNE is like the *Market*, where many times if you can ſtay a little, the Price will fall. And again, it is ſometimes like *Sybilla's* Offer, which at firſt offereth the Commodity at full, then conſumeth part and part, and ſtill holdeth up the Price. For *Occaſion* (as it is in the Common Verſe) *turneth a bald Noddle, after ſhe hath preſented her Locks in Front, and no hold taken*; or at leaſt turneth the Handle of the Bottle firſt to be received, and after the Belly, which is hard to claſp. There is ſurely no greater Wiſdom, than well to time the Beginnings and Onſets of Things. Dangers are no more light, if they once ſeem light; and more Dangers have deceived Men, than forced them. Nay, it were better to meet ſome Dangers half way, though they come nothing near, than to keep too long a watch upon their Approaches; for if a Man watch too

too long, it is odds he will fall asleep. On the other side, to be deceived with two long Shadows, (as some have been, when the Moon was low, and shone on their Enemies back,) and so to shoot off before the time; or to teach Dangers to come on, by over-early Buckling towards them, is another extreme. The Ripeness or Unripeness of the Occasion (as we said) must ever be well weighed; and generally it is good to commit the beginnings of all great Actions to *Argus* with his hundred eyes, and the ends to *Briareus* with his hundred hands; first to Watch, and then to Speed. For the *Helmet* of *Pluto*, which maketh the Politick Man goe invisible, is *Secrecy* in the Counsel, and *Celerity* in the Execution. For when things are once come to the execution, there is no *Secrecy* comparable to *Celerity*; like the motion of a Bullet in the Air, which flyeth so swift, as it outruns the Eye.

Of

Of Cunning.

XXII.

WE take *Cunning* for a Sinister or Crooked Wisdom. And certainly there is great difference between a *Cunning* Man, and a *Wise* Man, not only in point of Honesty, but in point of Ability. There be that can pack the Cards, and yet cannot play well; so there are some that are good in Canvasses and Factions, that are otherwise Weak Men. Again, it is one thing to understand Persons, and another thing to understand Matters; for many are perfect in mens Humours, that are not greatly Capable of the Real part of Business, which is the Constitution of one that hath studied Men more than Books. Such men are fitter for Practice, than for Counsel: and they are good but in their own Alley, turn them to new men, and they have lost their Aim: so as the old Rule to know a Fool from a Wise man; *Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos, & videbis*, doth scarce hold for them. And because these *Cunning Men* are like Haberdashers of small Wares, it is not amiss to set forth their Shop.

It

It is a point of *Cunning*, to wait upon him with whom you ſpeak, with your eye, as the Jeſuites give it in precept: for there may be many Wiſe men, that have ſecret Hearts, and tranſparent Countenances. Yet this would be done with a demure Abaſing of your Eye ſometimes, as the Jeſuites alſo do uſe.

Another is, that when you have any thing to obtain of preſent diſpatch, you entertain and amuſe the party with whom you deal, with ſome other Diſcourſe, that he be not too much awake to make Objections. I knew a *Counſellour* and *Secretary*, that never came to *Queen Elizabeth* of *England* with Bills to ſign, but he would alwayes firſt put her into ſome Diſcourſe of Eſtate, that ſhe mought the leſs mind the Bills.

The like Surprize may be made by moving things, when the party is in haſt, and cannot ſtay to conſider adviſedly of that is moved.

If a Man would croſs a Buſineſs, that he doubts ſome other would handſomely and effectually move, let him pretend to wiſh it well, and move it himſelf in ſuch ſort as may foyl it.

The breaking off in the midſt of that, one was about to ſay, as if he took himſelf up,

breeds a greater Appetite in him with whom you conferr to know more.

And because it works better, when any thing seemeth to be gotten from you by Question, than if you offer it of your self; you may lay a Bait for a Question, by shewing another Visage and Countenance than you are wont; to the end, to give occasion for the party to ask, what the matter is of the Change; As *Nehemias* did; *And I had not before that time been sad before the King.*

In things that are tender and unpleasing, it is good to break the Ice by some whose words are of less weight, and to reserve the more weighty Voice to come in as by chance, so that he may be asked the Question upon the other Speech; As *Narcissus* did in relating to *Claudius* the marriage of *Messalina* and *Silius.*

In things that a Man would not be seen in himself, it is a point of *Cunning* to borrow the name of the World, as to say; *The World sayes*; or, *There is a speech abroad.*

I knew one, that when he wrote a Letter, he would put that which was most material in the *Postscript*, as if it had been a By-matter.

I knew another, that when he came to have speech, he would pass over that that he in-

intended moſt, and goe forth, and come back again and ſpeak of it, as a thing that he had almoſt forgot.

Some procure themſelves to be ſurprized at ſuch times, as it is like the party that they work upon will ſuddenly come upon them, and to be found with a Letter in their hand, or doing ſomewhat which they are not accuſtomed; to the end they may be oppoſed of thoſe things, which of themſelves they are deſirous to utter.

It is a point of *Cunning*, to let fall thoſe Words in a mans own Name, which he would have another man learn and uſe, and thereupon take advantage. I knew two that were Competitours for the Secretaries Place in *Queen Elizabeths* time, and yet kept good Quarter between themſelves, and would conferr one with another upon the Buſineſs; and the one of them ſaid, That to be a Secretary in the *Declination of a Monarchy*, was a tickliſh thing, and that he did not affect it: the other ſtraight caught up thoſe Words, and diſcourſed with divers of his Friends, That he had no reaſon to deſire to be Secretary in the *Declining of a Monarchy*. The firſt man took hold of it, and found means, it was told the *Queen*, Who hearing of a *Declination of a Monarchy*, took it ſo ill, as ſhe

would never after hear of the other's Suit.

There is a *Cunning*, which we in *England* call, *The turning of the Cat in the Pan*; which is, when that which a man sayes to another, he layes it as if another had said it to him; and to say truth, it is not easie, when such a matter passed between two, to make it appear from which of them it first moved and began.

It is a way that some men have to glance and dart at others, by justifying themselves by Negatives; as to say, *This I did not*: As *Tigellinus* did towards *Burrhus*; *Se non diversas spes, sed incolumitatem Imperatoris simpliciter spectare.*

Some have in readiness so many Tales and Stories, as there is nothing they would insinuate, but they can wrap it into a Tale, which serveth both to keep themselves more in Guard, and to make others carry it with more Pleasure.

It is a good point of *Cunning*, for a man to shape the Answer he would have in his own Words and Propositions; for it makes the other party stick the less.

It is strange, how long some men will lye in wait to speak somewhat they desire to say, and how farr about they will fetch, and how many other matters they will beat over to

come

come near it; it is a thing of great Patience, but yet of much Uſe.

A ſudden, bold, and unexpected Queſtion, doth many times ſurprize a man, and lay him open: Like to him, that having changed his Name, and walking in *Pauls*, another ſuddenly came behind him, and called him by his true Name, whereat ſtraightwayes he looked back.

But theſe ſmall Wares, and petty Points of *Cunning* are infinite; and it were a good deed to make a Liſt of them: for that nothing doth more hurt in a State, than that *Cunning Men* paſs for *Wiſe*.

But certainly ſome there are, that know the Reſorts and Falls of Buſineſs, that cannot ſink into the Main of it: Like a Houſe that hath convenient Stairs and Entries, but never a fair Room. Therefore you ſhall ſee them find out pretty Looſes in the Concluſion, but are no wayes able ro examine or debate Matters: and yet commonly they take advantage of their Inability, and would be thought Wits of direction. Some build rather upon the abuſing of others, and (as we now ſay) *Putting tricks upon them*; than upon ſoundneſs of their own proceedings. But *Solomon* ſaith, *Prudens advertit ad greſſus ſuos, Stultus divertit ad dolos.*

Of Wisdom for a Mans Self.

XXIII.

AN *Ant* is a *wise creature* for it self, but it is a shrewd thing in an Orchard or Garden. And certainly Men that are great *Lovers* of *Themselves*, waste the Publick. Divide with reason between *Self-love* and *Society*, and be so true to thy *Self*, as thou be not false to others, specially to thy King and Country. It is a poor Center of a mans Actions, *Himself*. It is right Earth; for that only stands fast upon his own Center; whereas all things that have Affinity with the *Heavens*, move upon the Center of another which they benefit. The referring of all to a *Mans Self*, is more tollerable in a Soveraign Prince; because *Themselves* are not only *Themselves*; but their Good and Evil is at the peril of the publick Fortune. But it is a desperate Evil in a Servant to a Prince, or a Citizen in a Republick. For whatsoever Affairs pass such a mans hands, he crooketh them to his own ends, which must needs be often Eccentrick to the ends of his Master or State: Therefore let Princes or States choose

such

such Servants as have not this mark; except they mean their Service should be made but the accessary. That which maketh the effect more pernicious, is, that all proportion is lost; it were disproportion enough for the Servants good, to be preferred before the Masters; but yet it is a greater extreme, when a little good of the Servant shall carry things against a great good of the Masters. And yet that is the case of bad Officers, Treasurers, Embassadours, Generals, and other false and corrupt Servants, which set a Byas upon their Bowl, of their own petty ends and envies; to the overthrow of their Masters great and important Affairs. And for the most part, the Good such Servants receive, is after the model of their own fortune; but the Hurt they sell for that Good, is after the model of their Masters fortune. And certainly it is the nature of extream *Self-Lovers*, as they will set an House on fire, and it were but to roast their eggs: And yet these men many times hold credit with their Masters, because their study is but to please them, and profit *Themselves*; and for either respect they will abandon the good of their Affairs.

Wisdom for a Mans Self is in many branches thereof a depraved thing. It is the *Wis-*

dom of Rats, that will be sure to leave a House somewhat before it fall. It is the *Wisdom of the Fox*, that thrusts out the *Badger*, who digged and made room for him. It is the *Wisdom of Crocodiles*, that shed tears when they would devour. But that which is specially to be noted, is, that those which (as *Cicero* sayes of *Pompey*) are, *Sui amantes sine rivali*, are many times unfortunate. And whereas they have all their time sacrificed to *Themselves*, they become in the end *Themselves* Sacrifices to the Inconstancy of Fortune, whose wings they thought by their *Self-Wisdom* to have pinnion'd.

Of Innovations.

XXIV.

AS the births of living Creatures at first are ill shapen, so are all *Innovations*, which are the births of Time. Yet notwithstanding, as those that first bring Honour into their Family, are commonly more worthy than most that succeed: So the first Presidents (if it be good) is seldome attained by imitation. For Ill to mans nature, as it stands per-

perverted, hath a natural motion, ſtrongeſt in continuance: But Good, as a forced motion, ſtrongeſt at firſt. Surely every *Medicine* is an *Innovation*; and he that will not apply new Remedies, muſt expect new Evils: for Time is the greateſt *Innovatour*. And if Time of courſe alter things to the worſe, and Wiſdome and Counſel ſhall not alter them to the better, what ſhall be the end? It is true, that what is ſetled by cuſtome, though it be not good, yet at leaſt it is fit. And thoſe things which have long gone together, are as it were confederate within themſelves, whereas new things piece not ſo well: But though they help by their utility, yet they trouble by their inconformity. Beſides, they are like *Strangers*, more admired, and leſs favoured. All this is true, if time ſtood ſtill; which contrariwiſe moveth ſo round, that a froward retention of cuſtome is as turbulent a thing, as an *Innovation*: and they that reverence too much old times, are but a ſcorn to the new. It were good therefore, that Men in their *Innovations*, would follow the example of Time it ſelf; which indeed *Innovateth* greatly, but quietly, and by degrees, ſcarce to be perceived: for otherwiſe, whatſoever is new, is unlooked for; and ever it mends ſome, and pairs other: And he that

is holpen, takes it for a Fortune, and thanks the Time; and he that is hurt, for a Wrong, and imputeth it to the Authour. It is good also, not to try experiments in States, except the necessity be urgent, or the utility evident; and well to beware, that it be the Reformation that draweth on the Change, and not the desire of Change that pretendeth the Reformation. And lastly, that the *Novelty*, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a suspect: And as the Scripture saith, *That we make a stand upon the ancient way, and then look about us, and discover what is the straight and right way, and so to walk in it.*

Of Dispatch.

XXV.

Affected Dispatch is one of the most dangerous things to business that can be. It is like that which the Physicians call *Pre-digestion*, or *Hasty Digestion*, which is sure to fill the Body full of crudities, and secret seeds of Diseases. Therefore measure not *Dispatch* by the times of sitting, but by the

the advancement of the buſineſs. And as in Races, it is not the large Stride, or high Lift that makes the ſpeed: So in Buſineſs, the keeping cloſe to the matter, and not taking of it too much at once, procureth *Diſpatch*. It is the care of ſome, only to come off ſpeedily for the time, or to contrive ſome falſe periods of buſineſs, becauſe they may ſeem *Men of Diſpatch*. But it is one thing to abbreviate by contracting, another by curting off; and buſineſs ſo handled at ſeveral ſittings or meetings, goeth commonly backward and forward in an unſteady manner. I knew a *Wiſe man*, that had it for a by-word, when he ſaw men haſten to a concluſion; *Stay a little, that we may make an end the ſooner.*

On the other ſide, *True Diſpatch* is a rich thing. For Time is the meaſure of Buſineſs, as Money is of Wares; and buſineſs is bought at a dear hand, where there is ſmall *Diſpatch*. The *Spartans* and *Spaniards* have been noted to be of ſmall *Diſpatch*; *Mi venga la Muerte de Spagna, Let my Death come from Spain*; for then it will be ſure to be long in coming.

Give good hearing to thoſe that give the firſt Information in Buſineſs; and rather direct them in the beginning, than interrupt them

them in the continuance of their Speeches: for he that is put out of his own order, will goe forward and backward, and be more tedious while he waits upon his memory, than he could have been, if he had gone on in his own course. But sometimes it is seen, that the Moderator is more troublesome than the Actor.

Iterations are commonly loss of time; but there is no such grain of time, as to *iterate* often the *State* of the *Question*; for it chaseth away many a frivolous Speech as it is coming forth. Long and curious Speeches are as fit for *Dispatch*, as a Robe or Mantle with a long train is for Race.

Prefaces, and Passages, and Excusations, and other Speeches of reference to the Person, are great wasts of time; and though they seem to proceed of modesty, they are bravery. Yet beware of being too material, when there is any impediment or obstruction in mens Wills; for pre-occupation of mind ever requireth preface of Speech, like a fomentation to make the unguent enter.

Above all things, *Order*, and *Distribution*, and *Singling* out of *Parts*, is the life of *Dispatch*, so as the *Distribution* be not too subtile: for he that doth not divide, will never enter well into business, and he that divideth

too

too much, will never come out of it clearly. To choose time, is to save time, and an unseasonable motion is but beating the Air. There be three parts of Business; the *Preparation*, the *Debate* or *Examination*, and the *Perfection*: Whereof if you look for *Dispatch*, let the middle only be the work of many, and the first and last the work of few. The proceeding upon somewhat conceived in writing, doth for the most part facilitate *Dispatch*: for though it should be wholly rejected, yet that *Negative* is more pregnant of direction, than an *Indefinite*; as Ashes are more generative than Dust.

Of Seeming Wise.

XXVI.

IT hath been an opinion, that the *French* are wiser than they seem, and the *Spaniards* seem wiser than they are. But howsoever it be between Nations, certainly it is so between Man and Man. For as the *Apostle* saith of *Godliness*, *Having a show of Godliness, but denying the power thereof*; so certainly there are in points of wisdom and sufficiency, that

that do nothing or little very solemnly; *Magno conatu nugas.* It is a ridiculous thing, and fit for a Satyr, to persons of judgement, to see what shifts these Formalists have, and what prospectives to make *Superficies* to seem *Body*, that hath depth and bulk. Some are so close and reserved, as they will not shew their Wares, but by a dark light; and seem alwayes to keep back somewhat: And when they know within themselves, they speak of that they do not well know, would nevertheless seem to others, to know of that which they may not well speak. Some help themselves with countenance and gesture, and are wise by Signs; as *Cicero* saith of *Piso*, that when he answered him, he fetched one of his Brows up to his Forehead, and bent the other down to his Chin: *Respondes, altero ad Frontem sublato, altero ad Mentum depresso supercilio, crudelitatem tibi non placere.* Some think to bear it, by speaking a great word, and being peremptory; and goe on, and take by admittance that, which they cannot make good. Some, whatsoever is beyond their reach, will seem to despise or make light of it, as impertinent or curious, and so would have their Ignorance seem Judgement. Some are never without a difference, and commonly by amusing men with a subtilty,

blanch

blanch the matter; of whom *A. Gellius* saith, *Hominem delirum qui verborum minutiis rerum frangit pondera.* Of which kind also *Plato* in his *Protagoras* bringeth in *Prodicus* in scorn, and maketh him make a Speech, that consisteth of distinctions from the beginning to the end. Generally such men in all deliberations find ease to be of the Negative side, and effect a credit to object and foretell difficulties: For when Propositions are denied, there is an end of them; but if they be allowed, it requireth a new work; which false point of wisdome is the bane of business. To conclude, there is no decaying Merchant, or inward Beggar, hath so many tricks to uphold the credit of their wealth, as these empty Persons have to maintain the credit of their sufficiency. *Seeming Wise Men* may make shift to get opinion, but let no man choose them for employment; for certainly you were better take for business a man somewhat absurd, than over-formal

Of Friendship.

XXVII.

IT had been hard for him that spake it, to have put more truth and untruth together in few words, than in that Speech, *Whosoever is delighted in solitude, is either a wilde Beast, or a God.* For it is most true, that a natural and secret hatred, and aversation towards *Society* in any Man, hath somewhat of the savage Beast; but it is most untrue, that it should have any character at all of the Divine Nature, except it proceed not out of a pleasure in *Solitude*, but out of a love and desire to sequester a mans self for a higher conversation; such as is found to have been falsely and feignedly in some of the Heathen, as *Epimenides* the *Candian*, *Numa* the *Roman*, *Empedocles* the *Scicilian*, and *Apollonius* of *Tyana*; and truly and really in divers of the ancient Hermits, and Holy Fathers of the Church. But little do men perceive what *Solitude* is, and how farr it extendeth: for a Crowd is not Company, and Faces are but a Gallery of Pictures, and Talk but a *Tinckling Cymbal*, where there is no

Love.

Love. The Latine Adage meeteth with it a little, *Magna Civitas, magna solitudo*; because in a great Town *Friends* are scattered, so that there is not that fellowship, for the most part, which is in less *Neighbourhoods*. But we may goe further, and affirm most truly, that it is a meet and miserable *Solitude* to want *Friends*, without which the World is but a Wilderness: and even in this Sense also of *Solitude*, whosoever in the frame of his Nature and Affections is unfit for *Friendship*, he taketh it of the Beast, and not from Humanity.

A Principal *Fruit* of *Friendship* is, the Ease and Discharge of the Fulness and Swellings of the Heart, which Passions of all kinds do cause and induce. We know Diseases of Stoppings and Suffocations are the most dangerous in the Body, and it is not much otherwise in the Mind; You may take *Sarza* to open the Liver, *Steel* to open the Spleen, *Flower* of *Sulphur* for the Lungs, *Castoreum* for the Brain; but no Receipt openeth the Heart, but a true Friend, to whom you may impart Griefs, Joyes, Fears, Hopes, Suspicions, Counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the Heart, to oppress it, in a kind of Civil Shrift or Confession.

It is a strange thing to observe, how high a Rate great Kings and Monarchs do set upon this *Fruit* of *Friendship* whereof we speak, so great, as they purchase it many times at the hazard of their own Safety and Greatness. For Princes, in regard of the distance of their Fortune from that of their Subjects and Servants, cannot gather this *Fruit*, except (to make Themselves capable thereof) they raise some Persons to be as it were Companions, and almost Equals to themselves, which many times sorteth to Inconvenience. The modern Languages give unto such Persons the name of *Favourites* or *Privadoes*, as if it were matter of Grace or Conversation. But the *Roman* name attaineth the true Use and Cause thereof, naming them *Participes Curarum*, for it is that which tyeth the knot. And we see plainly that this hath been done, not by Weak and Passionate *Princes* only, but by the Wisest and most Politique that ever reigned; Who have oftentimes joyned to themselves some of their Servants, whom both Themselves have called *Friends*, and allowed Others likewise to call them in the same manner, using the Word which is received between private men.

L. Sylla, when he commanded *Rome*, raised *Pompey* (after surnamed the *Great*) to that

that Height, that *Pompey* vaunted himself for *Sylla*'s Over match: for when he had carried the *Consulship* for a Friend of his against the pursuit of *Sylla*, and that *Sylla* did a little resent thereat, and began to speak great, *Pompey* turned upon him again, and in effect bad him be quiet; *For that more men adored the Sun rising, than the Sun setting.* With *Julius Decimus*, *Brutus* had obtained that Interest, as he set him down in his Testament, for Heir in Remainder after his *Nephew*. And this was the Man that had power with him, to draw him forth to his death. For when *Cæsar* would have discharged the Senate, in regard of some ill presages, and specially a Dream of *Calpurnia*, This Man lifted him gently by the Arm out of his Chair, telling him, he hoped he would not dismiss the Senate, till his Wife had dream'd a better Dream. And it seemeth his favour was so great, as *Antonius* in a Letter which is recited *Verbatim* in one of *Cicero's Philippiques*, calleth him *Venefica*, *Witch*; as if he had enchanted *Cæsar*. *Augustus* raised *Agrippa* (though of mean Birth) to that Height, as when he consulted with *Mæcenas* about the Marriage of his Daughter *Julia*, *Mæcenas* took the Liberty to tell him, *That he must either marry his Daughter to* Agrippa,

or take away his life, there was no third way, he had made him ſo great. With *Tiberius Cæſar*, *Sejanus* had aſcended to that Heighth, as they two were tearmed and reckoned as a pair of Friends. *Tiberius* in a Letter to him, ſaith, *Hæc pro Amicitia noſtra non occultavi*: and the whole Senate dedicated an Altar to *Friendſhip*, as to a *Goddeſs*, in reſpect of the great Dearneſs of *Friendſhip* between them two. The like or more was between *Septimius Severus* and *Plautianus*: for he forced his eldeſt Son to marry the Daughter of *Plautianus*, and would maintain *Plautianus* in doing affronts to his Son, and did write alſo in a Letter to the Senate by theſe Words; *I love the Man ſo well, as I wiſh he may over-love me.* Now if theſe Princes had been as a *Trajan*, or a *Marcus Aurelius*, a Man might have thought, that this had proceeded of an abundant Goodneſs of Nature; but being Men ſo Wiſe, of ſuch ſtrength and ſeverity of Mind, and ſo extream Lovers of themſelves, as all theſe were; it proveth moſt plainly, that they found their own Felicity (though as great as ever happened to mortal men) but as an half Piece, except they mought have a *Friend* to make it Entire; and yet, which is more, they were *Princes* that had Wives, Sons, Nephews, and

and yet all these could not supply the Comfort of *Friendship*.

It is not to be forgotten, what *Commineus* observeth of his first Master, *Duke Charles* the *Hardy*; namely, That he would communicate his Secrets with none; and least of all those Secrets which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on, and saith, That towards his Latter time; *That closeness did impair, and a little perish his understanding.* Surely *Commineus* might have made the same Judgement also, if it had pleased him, of his second Master, *Lewis* the Eleventh, whose Closeness was indeed his Tormentour. The Parable of *Pythagoras* is dark, but true, *Cor ne edito*, *Eat not the Heart.* Certainly if a man would give it a hard Phrase, those that want *Friends* to open themselves unto, are Cannibals of their own *Hearts.* But one thing is most admirable, (wherewith I will conclude this first *Fruit* of *Friendship*,) which is, That this Communicating of a Mans Self to his *Friend*, works two contrary Effects; for it redoubleth *Joyes*, and cutteth *Griefs* in Halfs: for there is no man that imparteth his *Joyes* to his *Friend*, but he *joyeth* the more; and no man that imparteth his *Griefs* to his *Friend*, but he *grieveth* the less. So that it is in truth of Operation upon a

Mans

Mans Mind of like vertue, as the *Alchymists* use to attribute to their Stone for Mans Body, that it worketh all contrary Effects, but still to the Good and Benefit of Nature; but yet without praying in Aid of *Alchymists*, there is a manifest Image of this in the ordinary course of Nature: for in Bodies *Union* strengtheneth and cherisheth any natural Action; and on the other side, weakneth and dulleth any violent Impression: and even so it is of Minds.

The second *Fruit* of *Friendship* is Healthfull and Soveraign for the *Understanding*, as the first is for the *Affections*: for *Friendship* maketh indeed a *fair Day* in the *Affections* from Storm and Tempests; but it maketh *Day-light* in the *Understanding* out of Darkness and Confusion of Thoughts. Neither is this to be understood only of Faithful Counsel which a man receiveth from his *Friend*: but before you come to that, certain it is, that whosoever hath his Mind fraught with many Thoughts, his Wits and Understanding do clarifie and break up in the Communicating and Discoursing with another; He tosseth his Thoughts more easily, He marshalleth them more orderly, He seeth how they look when they are turned into Words. Finally, He waxeth Wiser than Himself; and

that

that more by an Hours Discourse, than by a Dayes Meditation. It was well said by *Themistocles* to the King of *Persia*; *That Speech was like Cloth of Arras opened and put abroad; whereby the Imagery doth appear in Figure, whereas in Thoughts they lye but as in Packs.* Neither is this second *Fruit* of *Friendship*, in opening the *Understanding*, restrained only to such *Friends* as are able to give a man Counsel; (they indeed are best) but even without that a man learneth of himself, and bringeth his own Thoughts to Light, and whetteth his Wits as against a Stone, which it self cuts not. In a word, a Man were better relate himself to a Statua or Picture, than to suffer his Thoughts to pass in smother.

Add now, to make this second *Fruit* of *Friendship* compleat, that other Point which lyeth more open, and falleth within Vulgar Observation, which is *Faithful Counsel* from a *Friend*. *Heraclitus* saith well in one of his Ænigmaes; *Dry light is ever the best.* And certain it is, that the Light that a man receiveth by *Counsel* from another, is dryer and purer than that which cometh from his own Understanding and Judgement, which is ever infused and drenched in his Affections and Customes, so as there is as much difference

ference between the *Counsel* that a *Friend* giveth, and that a man giveth himself, as there is between the *Counsel* of a *Friend*, and of a *Flatterer*: for there is no such *Flatterer*, as is a mans Self; and there is no such Remedy against *Flattery* of a mans Self, as the Liberty of a *Friend*. *Counsel* is of two sorts; the one concerning *Manners*, the other concerning *Business*. For the first; The best Preservative to keep the Mind in Health, is the faithful Admonition of a *Friend*. The Calling of a mans Self to a strict Account, is a Medicine sometime too Piercing and Corrasive. Reading good Books of *Morality*, is a little Flat and Dead. Observing our Faults in Others, is sometimes unproper for our Case. But the best Receipt (best (I say) to work, and best to take) is the Admonition of a *Friend*. It is a strange thing to behold, what gross Errours, and extream Absurdities, many (especially of the greater Sort) do commit, for want of a *Friend* to tell them of them, to the great damage both of their Fame and Fortune: for, as *S. James* saith, they are as Men *that look sometimes into a Glass, and presently forget their own Shape and Favour*. As for *Business*, a Man may think, if he will, that two Eyes see no more than one; or that a Gamester seeth alwayes

wayes more than a Looker on; or that a man in Anger is as wise as he, that hath said over the four and twenty Letters; or that a Musket may be shot off as well upon the Arm, as upon a Rest; and such other fond and high imaginations, to think himself All in All. But when all is done, the help of good *Counsel* is that which setteth *Business* straight; and if any man think, that he will take *Counsel*, but it shall be by pieces, asking *Counsel* in one business of one man, and in another business of another man: It is well, (that is to say, better perhaps than if he asked none at all) but he runneth two dangers; One, that he shall not be faithfully counselled, for it is a rare thing, except it be from a perfect and entire *Friend*, to have *Counsel* given, but such as shall be bowed and crooked to some ends which he hath that giveth it. The other, that he shall have *Counsel* given, hurtful, and unsafe, (though with good meaning) and mixt, partly of mischief, and partly of remedy: even as if you would call a Physician, that is thought good, for the Cure of the Disease you complain of, but is unacquainted with your Body; and therefore may put you in way for a present Cure, but overthroweth your Health in some other kind, and so cure the Disease, and kill

the Patient. But a *Friend*, that is wholly acquainted with a mans Estate, will beware, by furthering any present *Business*, how he dasheth upon other Inconvenience; and therefore rest upon *scattered Counsels*, they will rather distract and mis-lead, than settle and direct.

After these two noble *Fruits of Friendship*, (*Peace in the Affections*, and *Support of the Judgement*) followeth the last *Fruit*, which is like the *Pomegranate*, full of many kernells; I mean *Aid*, and *Bearing a Part* in all *Actions* and *Occasions*. Here the best way to represent to life the manifold use of *Friendship*, is to cast and see, how many things there are, which a man cannot do himself; and then it will appear, that it was a sparing Speech of the Ancients, to say, *That a Friend is another himself*; for that a *Friend* is farr more than *himself*. Men have their time, and dye many times in desire of some things, which they principally take to heart; The bestowing of a Child, the finishing of a Work, or the like. If a man have a true *Friend*, he may rest almost secure, that the care of those things will continue after him: So that a man hath as it were two Lives in his desires. A man hath a Body, and that Body is confined to a place; but where *Friendship* is,

is, all offices of Life are as it were granted to him, and his Deputy: for he may exercise them by his *Friend.* How many things are there, which a man cannot with any face or comeliness, say or do himself? A man can scarce alledge his own merits with modesty, much less extoll them: A man cannot sometimes brook to supplicate or begg; and a number of the like. But all these things are gracefull in a *Friend's* mouth, which are blushing in a mans own. So again, a mans Person hath many proper Relations, which he cannot put off. A man cannot speak to his Son, but as a Father; to his Wife, but as a Husband; to his Enemy, but upon tearms: Whereas a *Friend* may speak, as the Case requires, and not as it forteth with the Person. But to enumerate these things were endless: I have given the Rule, where a man cannot fitly play his own part: If he have not a *Friend*, he may quit the Stage.

Of Expence.

XXVIII.

Riches are for spending, and spending for Honour and good Actions: Therefore *Extraordinary Expence* must be limited by the worth of the occasion. For *Voluntary Undoing* may be as well for a mans *Country*, as for the *Kingdom of Heaven*, but *Ordinary Expence* ought to be limited by a mans Estate, and governed with such regard, as it be within his compass, and not subject to deceit and abuse of Servants, and ordered to the best shew, that the Bills may be less than the estimation abroad. Certainly, if a man will keep but of even hand, his *Ordinary Expences* ought to be but to the half of his Receipts. And if he think to wax Rich, but to the third part. It is no baseness for the greatest to descend and look into their own *Estate*. Some forbear it, not upon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselves into melancholly, in respect they shall find it broken. But Wounds cannot be cured without searching. He that cannot look into his own Estate at all, had need both choose well

well those whom he employeth, and change them often; for new are more timorous, and less subtil. He that can look into his Estate but seldome, it behoveth him to turn all to certainties. A man had need, if he be plentiful in some kind of *Expence*, to be as saving again in some other: As if he be plentiful in Dyet, to be saving in Apparel: If he be plentiful in the Hall, to be saving in the Stable; and the like. For he that is plentifull in *Expences* of all kinds, will hardly be preserved from decay. In clearing of a mans Estate, he may as well hurt himself, in being in too sudden, as in letting it run on too long. For hasty Selling is commonly as disadvantageable as Interest. Besides, he that cleares at once will relapse; for finding himself out of streights, he will revert to his customes: But he that cleareth by degrees, induceth a habit of frugality, and gaineth as well upon his Mind, as upon his Estate. Certainly, who hath a State to repair, may not despise small things: And commonly it is less dishonourable to abridge petty Charges, than to stoop to petty Gettings. A man ought warily to begin Charges, which once begun will continue; but in matters that return not, he may be more magnificent.

Of the true Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates.

XXIX.

THe Speech of *Themistocles* the *Athenian*, which was haughty and arrogant, in taking so much to himself, had been a grave and wise observation and censure, applyed at large to others. Desired at a Feast to touch a Lute, he said, *He could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small Town a great City.* These words (holpen a little with a metaphor) may expresse two differing abilities, in those that deal in businesse of Estate. For if a true Survey be taken of Counsellours and Statesmen, there may be found (though rarely) those which can make a *Small State Great*, and yet cannot *fiddle*: As on the other side, there will be found a great many, that can *fiddle* very cunningly, but yet are so farre from being able to make a *Small State Great*, as their Gift lyeth the other way, to bring a Great and Flourishing Estate to ruine and decay. And certainly those degenerate Arts and Shifts, whereby many Counsellours and Governours gain both *Favour* with their Masters,

Masters, and estimation with the Vulgar, deserve no better name than *Fiddling*, being things rather pleasing for the time, and graceful to themselves only, than tending to the weal and advancement of the State which they serve. There are also (no doubt) Counsellours and Governours which may be held sufficient (*Negotiis pares*) able to manage Affairs, and to keep them from *Precipices*, and manifest Inconveniencies, which nevertheless are farr from the ability to raise and amplifie an Estate in power, means, and fortune. But be the Workmen what they may be, let us speak of the Work; That is, the *true Greatness of Kingdomes and Estates*, and the *Means* thereof. An Argument fit for Great and Mighty Princes to have in their hand, to the end, that neither by over-measuring their Forces, they leese themselves in vain Enterprises, nor on the other side, by undervaluing them, they descend to fearfull and pusillanimous Counsels.

The *Greatness* of an Estate in Bulk and Territory, doth fall under measure; and the *Greatness* of Finances and Revenue, doth fall under computation. The Population may may appear by Musters, and the Number and Greatness of Cities and Towns by Cards and Maps. But yet there is not any thing a-

mongst Civil Affairs, more subject to errour, than the right valuation, and true judgement, concerning the Power and Forces of an Estate.

The *Kingdom of Heaven* is compared not to any great Kernel or Nut, but to a *Grain of Mustard-seed*, which is one of the least Grains, but hath in it a Property and Spirit hastily to get up and spread. So are there States great in Territory, and yet not apt to Enlarge or Command; and some that have but a small dimension of Stem, and yet apt to be the Foundations of great Monarchies.

Walled Towns, Stored Arsenals and Armouries, Goodly Races of Horse, Chariots of War, Elephants, Ordnance, Artillery, and the like: All this is but a Sheep in a Lions Skin, except the breed and disposition of the People be stout and warlike. Nay, Number (it self) in Armies importeth not much, where the People is of weak courage: For, (as *Virgil* saith) *It never troubles a wolf, how many the Sheep be.* The Army of the *Persians*, in the Plains of *Arbela*, was such a vaste Sea of People, as it did somewhat astonish the Commanders in *Alexanders* Army; who came to him therefore, and and wish'd him to set upon them by night; but he answered, *He would not pilfer the Victory:*

Victory: And the defeat was great. When *Tigranes* the *Armenian*, being encamped upon a Hill with 400000. Men, discovered the Army of the *Romans*, being not above 14000. marching towards him, he made himself merry with it, and said, *Yonder Men are too many for an Ambassage, and too few for a Fight*: But before the Sun set, he found them enough to give him the Chase with infinite slaughter. Many are the examples of the great odds between Number and Courage; so that a man may truly make a judgement, That the principal point of *Greatness* in any *State*, is to have a Race of Military men. Neither is Money the Sinews of War, (as it is trivially said) where the Sinews of Mens Armes in Base and Effeminate People are failing. For *Solon* said well to *Crœsus*, (when in ostentation he shewed him his Gold) *Sir, If any other come, that hath better Iron than you, he will be Master of all this Gold.* Therefore let any Prince or State think soberly of his Forces, except his *Militia* of Natives be of good and valiant Souldiers. And let Princes on the other side, that have Subjects of Martial disposition, know their own strength, unless they be otherwise wanting unto themselves. As for *Mercenary Forces*, (which is the Help in

this Case) all examples shew, that whatsoever Estate or Prince doth rest upon them, *He may spread his Feathers for a time, but he will moult them soon after.*

The *Blessing* of *Judah* and *Issachar* will never meet, *That the same People or Nation should be both the Lions whelp, and the Asse between Burthens*: Neither will it be, that a People over-laid with *Taxes*, should ever become Valiant and Martial. It is true, that *Taxes* levied by Consent of the Estate, do abate mens Courage less, as it hath been seen notably in the *Exercises* of the *Low-Countries*, and in some degree, in the *Subsidies* of *England*: for you must note, that we speak now of the Heart, and not of the Purse. So that although the same *Tribute* and *Tax*, laid by Consent, or by Imposing, be all one to the Purse, yet it works diversly upon the Courage: so that you may conclude, *That no People, over-charged with Tribute, is fit for Empire.*

Let States that aim at *Greatness*, take heed how their *Nobility* and *Gentlemen* do multiply too fast. For that maketh the Common Subject grow to be a Peasant, and base Swain, driven out of Heart, and in effect but a *Gentlemans* Labourer. Even as you may see in Coppice Woods; *If you leave your Staddles*

too

too thick, you shall never have clean Underwood, but Shrubs and Bushes. So in Countries, if the *Gentlemen* be too many, the *Commons* will be base: and you will bring it to that; that not the hundred Poll will be fit for an Helmet; especially as to the *Infantry*, which is the Nerve of an Army; and so there will be great Population, and little Strength. This which I speak of, hath been no where better seen, than by comparing of *England* and *France*, whereof *England*, though farre lesse in Territory and Population, hath been, nevertheless an Over-match; in regard the *Middle People* of *England* make good Souldiers, which the *Peasants* of *France* do not. And herein the device of King *Henry* the seventh, (whereof I have spoken largely in the *History of his Life*) was Profound and Admirable, in making Farmes and Houses of Husbandry, of a Standard; that is, maintained with such a Proportion of Land unto them, as may breed a Subject to live in Convenient Plenty, and no Servile Condition; and to keep the Plough in the hands of the Owners, and not meer Hirelings. And thus indeed you shall attain to *Virgil's* Character which he gives to Ancient *Italy*:

— *Terra*

— Terra potens Armisque atque ubere Gleba.

Neither is that State (which for ought I know, is almost peculiar to *England*, and hardly to be found any where else, except it be perhaps in *Poland*) to be passed over; I mean the State of *Free-Servants* and *Attendants* upon *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen*, which are no wayes inferiours to the *Yeomanry* for Armes: And therefore, out of all Question, the Splendour, and Magnificence, and great Retinues, and Hospitality of *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen* received into Custome, doth much conduce unto *Martial Greatnesse*; Whereas contrariwise, the Close and Reserved Living of *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen*, causeth a Penury of *Military Forces*.

By all means it is to be procured, that the *Trunck* of *Nebuchadnezzars* Tree of *Monarchy*, be great enough to bear the Branches, and the Boughs; that is, That the *Naturall Subjects* of the Crown or State, bear a sufficient Proportion to the *Stranger Subjects* that they govern. Therefore all States that are liberal of Naturalization towards Strangers, are fit for *Empire*. For to think that an Handfull of People can with the greatest

greatest Courage and Policy in the World, embrace too large extent of Dominion, it may hold for a time, but it will fail suddenly. The *Spartans* were a nice People in point of Naturalization; whereby, while they kept their Compass, they stood firm; but when they did spread, and their Boughs were become too great for their Stem, they became a Wind-fall upon the sudden. Never any State was in this Point so open to receive *Strangers* into their Body, as were the *Romans*, therefore it sorted with them accordingly: for they grew to the greatest *Monarchy*. Their manner was to grant Naturalization, (which they called *Jus Civitatis*) and to grant it in the highest Degree, that is, not only *Jus Commercii*, *Jus Connubii*, *Jus Hereditatis*, but also *Jus Suffragii*, and *Jus Honorum*. And this, not to singular Persons alone, but likewise to whole Families, yea, to Cities, and sometimes to Nations. Add to this their Custome of *Plantation of Colonies*, whereby the *Roman* Plant was removed into the Soyl of other Nations; and putting both Constitutions together, you will say, That it was not the *Romans* that spread upon the *World*, but it was the *World* that spread upon the *Romans*; and that was the sure Way of *Greatness*. I have marvelled some-

sometimes at *Spain*, how they clasp and contain so large Dominions, with so few natural *Spaniards*: but sure the whole Compass of *Spain* is a very great Body of a Tree, farr above *Rome* and *Sparta* at the first: and besides, though they have not had that usage to Naturalize liberally, yet they have that which is next to it; that is, *To employ, almost indifferently, all Nations in their Militia of ordinary Souldiers*: yea, and sometimes in their *Highest Commands*. Nay, it seemeth at this instant, they are sensible of this want of Natives, as by the *Pragmatical Sanction*, now published, appeareth.

It is certain, that *Sedentary* and *Within-door Arts*, and delicate Manufactures, (that require rather the Finger, than the Arm) have in their Nature a Contrariety to a Military disposition. And generally all Warlike People are a little idle, and love Danger better than Travel: neither must they be too much broken of it, if they shall be preserved in vigour. Therefore it was great Advantage in the Ancient States of *Sparta*, *Athens*, *Rome*, and others, that they had the use of *Slaves*, which commonly did rid those Manufactures: but that is abolished in greatest part by the *Christian Law*. That which commeth nearest to it, is, to leave those Arts

chiefly

chiefly to Strangers, (which for that purpose are the more easily to be received) and to contain the principal Bulk of the vulgar Natives within those three kinds; *Tillers* of the Ground, *Free-Servants*; and *Handy-crafts* Men of strong and manly Arts, as Smiths, Masons, Carpenters, &c. not reckoning professed Souldiers.

But above all, for *Empire* and *Greatness* it importeth most, that a Nation do profess Armes as their principal Honour, Study and Occupation: for the things which we formerly have spoken of, are but *Habilitations* towards Armes; and what is *Habilitation*, without *Intention* and *Act*. *Romulus* after his death, (as they report or feign) sent a Present to the *Romans*, that above all they should intend Armes, and then they should prove the greatest *Empire* of the World. The Fabrick of the State of *Sparta* was wholly (though not wisely) framed and composed to that Scope and End. The *Persians* and *Macedonians* had it for a flash. The *Galls*, *Germans*, *Goths*, *Saxons*, *Normans*, and others had it for a time. The *Turks* have it at this day, though in great Declination. Of Christian *Europe*, they that have it, are in effect only the *Spaniards*. But it is so plain, *That every Man profiteth in that he most intendeth*,

tendeth, that it needeth not to be stood upon. It is enough to point at it, that no Nation which doth not directly profess Armes, may look to have *Greatness* fall into their mouths. And on the other side, it is a most certain Oracle of Time, that those States that continue long in that Profession (as the *Romans* and *Turks* principally have done) do wonders; and those that have professed Armes but for an Age, have notwithstanding commonly attained that *Greatness* in that Age, which maintained them long after, when their Profession and exercise of Armes hath grown to decay.

Incident to this Point is, for a State to have those Lawes or Customes which may reach forth unto them just Occasions (as may be pretended) of War: for there is that Justice imprinted in the Nature of Men, that they enter not upon Wars (whereof so many Calamities do ensue) but upon some, or at least specious Grounds and Quarrels. The *Turk* hath at hand, for cause of War, the Propagation of his Law or Sect, a Quarrel that he may alwayes command. The *Romans*, though they esteemed the extending the Limits of their Empire to be great Honour to their Generals, when it was done, yet they never rested upon that alone to begin

gin a War. First therefore, let Nations that pretend to *Greatnesse*, have this, that they be sensible of Wrongs, either upon Borderers, Merchants, or Politick Ministers, and that they sit not too long upon a Provocation. Secondly, let them be prest, and ready to give Aids and Succours to their Confederates, as it ever was with the *Romans*: Insomuch as if the Confederate had Leagues defensive with divers other States, and upon Invasion offered, did implore their Aids severally, yet the *Romans* would ever be the foremost, and leave it to none other to have the Honour. As for the Wars which were anciently made on the behalf of a kind of Party, or tacit Conformity of Estate, I do not well see, how they may be well justified: As when the *Romans* made a War for the Liberty of *Gratia*, or when the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians* made Wars to set up, or pull down *Democracies* and *Oligarchies*; or when Wars were made by Foreigners, under the pretence of Justice or Protection, to deliver the Subjects of others from Tyranny and Oppression, and the like. Let it suffice, That no Estate expect to be *Great*, that is not awake, upon any just Occasion of Arming.

No Body can be healthful without *Exercise*, neither Natural Body, nor Politick; and

and certainly to a *Kingdom* or *Estate*, a just and honourable War is the true *Exercise*. A Civil War indeed is like the Heat of a Feaver, but a Foreign War is like the Heat of *Exercise*, and serveth to keep the Body in health; for in a slothful Peace both Courages will effeminate, and Manners corrupt. But howsoever it be for Happiness, without all question, for *Greatness*, it maketh to be still, for the most part, in Armes; and the strength of a Veterane Army (though it be a chargeable Business) alwayes on Foot, is that which commonly giveth the Law, or at least the Reputation amongst all Neighbour States; as may well be seen in *Spain*, which hath had in one part or other a Veterane Army, almost continually, now by the space of six-score yeares.

To be Master of the *Sea*, is an Abridgement of a Monarchy. *Cicero* writing to *Atticus*, of *Pompey* his *Preparation* against *Cæsar*, saith, *Consilium Pompeii plane Themistocleum est: Putat enim qui Mari potitur, eum Rerum potiri.* And without doubt *Pompey* had tyred out *Cæsar*, if upon vain Confidence he had not left that Way. We see the great Effects of Battels by *Sea*. The Battel of *Actium* decided the Empire of the World. The Battel of *Lepanto* arrested the Great-

Greatnes of the *Turk*. There be many examples, where *Sea-Fights* have been Final to the War; but this is when Princes or States have set up their Rest upon the Battels. But thus much is certain, that he that commands the *Sea*, is at great liberty, and may take as much, and as little of the War, as he will; whereas those that be strongest by Land, are many times nevertheless in great streights. Surely at this day, with us of *Europe*, the Vantage of Strength at *Sea* (which is one of the principal Dowries of this Kingdom of *Great Britain*) is great: both because most of the Kingdomes of *Europe* are not meerly In-land, but girt with the *Sea*, most part of their Compass; and because the Wealth of both *Indies* seems in great part but an Accessary to the Command of the *Seas*.

The *Wars* of *Latter Ages* seem to be made in the Dark, in respect of the Glory and Honour which reflected upon Men from the *Wars* in *Ancient Time*. There be now for Martial Encouragement, some Degrees and Orders of Chivalry, which nevertheless are conferred promiscuously upon Souldiers, and no Souldiers; and some Remembrance perhaps upon the Scutchion, and some Hospitals for maimed Souldiers, and such like things.

But

But in Ancient Times, the *Trophies* erected upon the place of the Victory; the Funeral Laudatives and Monuments for those that dyed in the Wars, the Crowns and Garlands personal; the Style of Emperour, which the great King of the World after borrowed, the Triumphs of the Generals upon their Return, the great Donatives and Largesses upon the Disbanding of the Armies, were things able to enflame all Mens Courages. But above all, that of the Triumph amongst the *Romans*, was not Pageants or Gaudery, but one of the Wisest and Noblest Institutions that ever was: for it contained three things, Honour to the General, Riches to the Treasury out of the Spoyls, and Donatives to the Army. But that Honour perhaps were not fit for *Monarchies*, except it be in the Person of the *Monarch* himself, or his Sons; as it came to pass in the times of the *Roman Emperours*, who did impropriate the Actual Triumphs to themselves, and their Sons, for such Wars as they did atchieve in Person, and left only for Wars atchieved by Subjects, some Triumphal Garments and Ensignes to the General.

To conclude: No Man can, by *Care taking* (as the *Scripture* saith) *add a Cubit to his Stature*, in this little Model of a *Mans Body*;

Body; but in the great Frame of *Kingdoms* and *Commonwealths*, it is the power of Princes or Estates to adde Amplitude and *Greatness* to their *Kingdoms*. For by introducing such Ordinances, Constitutions, and Customs, as we have now touched, they may sowe *Greatness* to their posterity and Succession. But these things are commonly not observed, but left to take their chance.

Of Regiment of Health.

XXX.

THere is a Wisdome in this beyond the Rules of *Physick*: A Mans own observation what he finds good of, and what he finds hurt of, is the best *Physick* to preserve Health. But it is a safer conclusion to say, *This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not continue it*, than this, *I find no offence of this, therefore I may use it*. For strength of Nature in Youth passeth over many Excesses which are owing a Man till his Age. Discern of the coming on of years, and think not to do the same things still; for Age will not be defied. Beware of sudden change in any great

great point of Diet; and if necessity inforce it, fit the rest to it: For it is a secret both in Nature and State, that it is safer to change many things, than one. Examine thy Customs of Diet, Sleep, Exercise, Apparel, and the like: And try in any thing thou shalt judge hurtful, to discontinue it by little and little; but so, as if thou dost find any inconvenience by the change, thou come back to it again: For it is hard to distinguish that which is generally held good and wholesome, from that which is good particularly, and fit for their own Body. To be free minded, and chearfully disposed at hours of Meat, and of Sleep, and of Exercise, is one of the best precepts of long lasting. As for the passions and studies of the mind; avoid Envy, anxious Fears, Anger fretting inwards, subtile and knotty Inquisitions, Joyes and Exhilarations in Excess, Sadness not communicated; entertain Hopes, Mirth rather than Joy, variety of Delights rather than Surfeit of them, Wonder and Admiration, and therefore Novelties, Studies that fill the mind with splendid and illustrious Objects, as Histories, Fables, and Contemplations of Nature. If you flie Physick in *Health* altogether, it will be too strange for your Body when you shall need it. If you make it too familiar, it will work

no

no extraordinary effect when Sickness cometh. I commend rather some Diet for certain seasons, than frequent use of *Physick*, except it be grown into a custome: For those Diets alter the Body more, and trouble it less. Despise no new accident in your Body, but ask opinion of it. In *Sickness* respect *Health* principally, and in *Health*, *Action*: For those that put their Bodies to endure in *Health*, may in most *Sicknesses*, which are not very sharp, be cured only with Diet and tending. *Celsus* could never have spoken it as a *Physician*, had he not been a wise Man withall, when he giveth it for one of the great precepts of Health and Lasting, That a Man do vary, and interchange contraries, but with an inclination to the more benign extream. Use Fasting and full Eating, but rather full Eating; Watching and Sleep, but rather Sleep; Sitting and Exercise, but rather Exercise, and the like: So shall Nature be cherished, and yet taught Masteries. *Physitians* are some of them so pleasing, and conformable to the humour of the Patient, as they press not the true cure of the Disease; and some other are so regular, in proceeding according to Art for the Disease, as they respect not sufficiently the Condition of the Patient. Take one of a middle

middle temper; or if it may not be found in one Man, combine two of either sort; and forget not to call as well the best acquainted with your Body, as the best reputed of for his Faculty.

Of Suspicion.

XXXI.

Suspicions amongst thoughts are like Bats amongst Birds, they ever flie by twylight. Certainly they are to be repressed, or at the least well guarded; for they cloud the Mind, they leese Friends, and they check with Businesse, whereby Businesse cannot go on currantly and constantly. They dispose Kings to Tyranny, Husbands to Jealousie, Wise Men to Irresolution and Melancholy. They are defects, not in the Heart, but in the Brain; for they take place in the stoutest Natures: As in the example of *Henry* the Seventh of *England*, there was not a more *Suspicious* Man, nor a more Stout: And in such a composition they do small hurt. For commonly they are not admitted, but with examination whether they be likely or no; but

but in fearful Natures they gain ground too faſt. There is nothing makes a Man *Suſpect* much more then to know little; and therefore Men ſhould remedy *Suſpicion*, by procuring to know more, and not to keep their *Suſpicions* in ſmother. What would Men have? Do they think thoſe they imploy and deal with are Saints? Do they not think they will have their own ends, and be truer to themſelves then to them? Therefore there is no better way to moderate *Suſpicions*, then to account upon ſuch *Suſpicions* as true, and yet to bridle them as falſe. For ſo far a Man ought to make uſe of *Suſpicions*, as to provide, as if that ſhould be true that he *Suſpects*, yet it may do him no hurt. *Suſpicions* that the mind of it ſelf gathers are but Buzzes, but *Suſpicions* that are artificially nouriſhed, and put into Mens Heads by the Tales and whiſperings of others, have Stings. Certainly the beſt means to clear the way in this ſame Wood of *Suſpicions*, is franckly to communicate them with the Party that he *Suſpects*; for thereby he ſhall be ſure to know more of the truth of them then he did before; and withall, ſhall make that Party more circumſpect, not to give further cauſe of *Suſpicion*. But this would not be done by Men of baſe Natures: For they, if they find

themselves once *Suspected*, will never be true. The *Italians* say, *Sospetto licentia fede*, as if *Suspicion* did give a Passport to Faith: But it ought rather to kindle it, to discharge it self.

Of Discourse.

XXXII.

SOme in their *Discourse* desire rather commendation of Wit, in being able to hold all Arguments, than of Judgement in discerning what is true: As if it were a praise to know what might be said, and not what should be thought. Some have certain Common Places, and Themes, wherein they are good, and want variety; which kind of Poverty is for the most part tedious, and when it is once perceived, ridiculous. The honorablest part of Talk, is to give the Occasion, and again, to moderate and pass to somewhat else; for then a Man leads the Dance. It is good in *Discourse* and Speech of Conversation, to vary and intermingle Speech of the present occasion with Arguments, Tales with Reasons, asking of Questions with telling

ling of Opinions, and Jest with Earnest: For it is a dull thing to Tire, and as we say now, to Jade any thing too far. As for Jest, there be certain things which ought to be privileged from it; namely, Religion, Matters of State, Great Persons, any Mans present Business of importance, and any Case that deserveth pity. Yet there be some that think their Wits have been asleep, except they dart out somewhat that is piquant, and to the quick: That is a Vain which would be bridled.

Parce Puer stimulis, & fortiùs utere Loris.

And generally Men ought to find the difference between Saltness and Bitterness. Certainly he that hath a Satyrical Vain, as he maketh others afraid of his Wit, so he had need be afraid of others Memory. He that questioneth much, shall learn much, and content much; but especially if he apply his Questions to the skill of the Persons whom he asketh: For he shall give them occasion to please themselves in speaking, and himself shall continually gather knowledge. But let his Questions not be troublesome; for that is fit for a Poser: And let him be sure to leave other Men their turns to speak. Nay,

if there be any that would reign, and take up all the time, let him find means to take them off, and to bring others on, as Muſicians uſe to do with thoſe that dance too long Galliards. If you diſſemble ſometimes your knowledge of that you are thought to know, you ſhall be thought another time to know that you know not. Speech of a Mans ſelf ought to be ſeldome, and well choſen. I knew one was wont to ſay in ſcorn, *He muſt needs be a wiſe Man, he ſpeaks ſo much of himſelf*: And there is but one caſe, wherein a Man may commend himſelf with good Grace, and that is, in commending Vertue in another; eſpecially if it be ſuch a Vertue whereunto himſelf pretendeth. Speech of touch towards others ſhould be ſparingly uſed: For *Diſcourſe* ought to be as a Field, without coming home to any Man. I knew two *Noblemen* of the Weſt Part of *England*, whereof the one was given to Scoffe, but kept ever Royal Cheer in his Houſe: The other would ask of thoſe that had been at the others Table, *Tell truly, was there never a Flout or dry Blow given*: To which the Gueſt would anſwer, *Such and ſuch a thing paſſed*: The Lord would ſay, *I thought he would marr a good Dinner*. *Diſcretion* of *Speech* is more than *Eloquence*; and to ſpeak

agree-

agreeable to him with whom we deal, is more than to speak in good words, or in good order. A good continued Speech, without a good Speech of Interlocution, shews Slowness; and a good Reply, or second Speech, without a good setled Speech, sheweth Shallowness and Weakness; as we see in Beasts, that those that are weakest in the Course, are yet nimblest in the Turn; as it is betwixt the Greyhound, and the Hare. To use too many Circumstances ere one come to the Matter, is wearisome; to use none at all, is blunt.

Of Plantations.

XXXIII.

Plantations are amongst Ancient, Primitive, and Heroical Works. When the World was young, it begat more Children; but now it is old, it begets fewer: for I may justly account new *Plantations* to be the Children of former Kingdomes. I like a *Plantation* in a pure Soyl, that is, where People are not *Displanted*, to the end, to *Plant* in others; for else it is rather an Extir-

pation, than a *Plantation*. *Planting* of Countries is like *Planting* of Woods; for you muſt make account to leeſe almoſt twenty years Profit, and expect your Recompence in the end. For the principal thing that hath been the deſtruction of moſt *Plantations*, hath been the baſe and haſty drawing of profit in the firſt years. It is true, Speedy Profit is not to be neglected, as farr as may ſtand with the Good of the *Plantation*, but no further. It is a Shameful and Unbleſſed Thing, to take the Scumm of People, and wicked Condemned Men, to be the People with whom you *Plant*: And not only ſo, but it ſpoyleth the *Plantation*: for they will ever live like Rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do miſchief, and ſpend Victualls, and be quickly weary; and then certifie over to their Country to the Diſcredit of the *Plantation*. The People wherewith you *Plant*, ought to be Gardners, Plough-men, Labourers, Smiths, Carpenters, Joyners, Fiſher men, Fowlers, with ſome few Apothecaries, Surgeons, Cooks, and Bakers. In a Country of *Plantation*, firſt look about what kind of Victual the Country yields of it ſelf to Hand; as Cheſnuts, Wallnuts, Pine-Apples, Olives, Dates, Plumms, Cheries, Wild-Honey, and the like, and make uſe of them.

them. Then consider what Victual, or Esculent things there are, which grow speedily, and within the year; as Parsnips, Carrets, Turnips, Onions, Raddish, Artichokes of *Hierusalem*, Maiz, and the like. For Wheat, Barley, and Oates, they ask too much Labour: but with Pease and Beans you may begin, both because they ask less Labour, and because they serve for Meat, as well as for Bread. And of Rice likewise cometh a great increase, and it is a kind of meat. Above all, there ought to be brought store of Bisket, Oat-meal, Flower, Meal, and the like, in the beginning, till Bread may be had. For Beasts or Birds, take chiefly such as are least subject to Diseases, and multiply fastest; as Swine, Goats, Cocks, Hens, Turkeys, Geese, House-Doves, and the like. The Victual in *Plantations* ought to be expended, almost as in a besieged Town; that is, with certain Allowance; and let the main part of the Ground employed to Gardens or Corn, be to a Common Stock, and to be laid in, and stored up, and then delivered out in Proportion, besides some Spots of Ground that any particular Person will manure for his own private use. Consider likewise what Commodities, the Soyl, where the *Plantation* is, doth naturally yield, that

they may some way help to defray the Charge of the *Plantation*: so it be not, as was said, to the untimely Prejudice of the main business; as it hath fared with *Tobacco* in *Virginia*. Wood commonly aboundeth but too much; and therefore Timber is fit to be one. If there be Iron Ure, and Streams whereupon to set the Mills, Iron is a brave Commodity where Wood aboundeth. Making of Bay Salt, if the Climate be proper for it, would be put in experience. Growing Silk likewise, if any be, is a likely Commodity. Pitch and Tarr, where store of Firrs and Pines are, will not fail. So Drugs, and Sweet Woods, where they are, cannot but yield great Profit. Soap Ashes likewise, and other things that may be thought of. But withal not too much under Ground; for the hope of Mines is very uncertain, and useth to make the *Planters* lazy in other things. For Government, let it be in the hands of one, assisted with some Counsel; and let them have Commission to exercise Martial Laws with some limitation. And above all, let Men make that Profit of being in the Wilderness, as they have God always, and his Service before their eyes. Let not the Government of the *Plantation* depend upon too many Counsellours and Undertakers in the

Country that *Planteth*, but upon a temperate number; and let those be rather Noblemen and Gentlemen, than Merchants: for they look ever to the present Gain. Let there be Freedomes for Custome, till the *Plantation* be of Strength; and not only Freedome from Custome, but Freedome to carry their Commodities, where they may make their best of them, except there be some special cause of Caution. Cram not in People, by sending too fast Company after Company, but rather hearken how they waste, and send Supplyes proportionably; but so, as the Number may live well in the *Plantation*, and not by Surcharge be in Penury. It hath been a great endangering to the health of some *Plantations*, that they have built along the Sea and Rivers in marish and unwholesome Grounds. Therefore, though you begin there to avoid Carriage, and other like Dis-commodities, yet build still rather upwards from the Streams, than along. It concerneth likewise the health of the *Plantation*, that they have good store of Salt with them, that they may use it in their Victuals, when it shall be necessary. If you *Plant* where Savages are, do not only entertain them with Trifles and Gingles, but use them justly and graciously, with sufficient Guard nevertheless; and do

not win their favour by helping them to invade their Enemies, but for their Defence it is not amiſs. And ſend oft of them over to the Country that *Plant*, that they may ſee a better condition than their own, and commend it when they return. When the *Plantation* grows to ſtrength, then it is time to *Plant* with Women as well as with Men, that the *Plantation* may ſpread into Generations, and not be ever pieced from without. It is the ſinfulleſt thing in the World to forſake or deſtitute a *Plantation* once in Forwardneſs: for beſides the diſhonour, it is the guiltineſs of Blood of many commiſerable Perſons.

Of Riches.

XXXIV.

I Cannot call *Riches* better than the baggage of Vertue. The *Roman* Word is better, *Impedimenta*; for as the baggage is to an Army, ſo is *Riches* to Vertue. It cannot be ſpared, nor left behind, but it hindreth the March: Yea, and the care of it ſometimes loſeth or diſturbeth the Victory. Of great *Riches* there is no real uſe, except

it be in the Distribution, the rest is but conceit: so saith *Solomon*, *Where much is, there are many to consume it; and what hath the Owner but the sight of it with his eyes?* The personal Fruition in any Man cannot reach to feel great *Riches*: there is a Custody of them, or a power of Dole and Donative of them, or a Fame of them, but no solid use to the Owner. Do you not see what feigned Princes are set upon little Stones and Rarities? And what works of Ostentation are undertaken, because there might seem to be some Use of great *Riches*? But then you will say, they may be of Use to buy Men out of Dangers or Troubles: as *Solomon* saith, *Riches are as a strong Hold in the Imagination of the Rich Man.* But this is excellently expressed, that it is in *Imagination*, and not alwayes in *Fact*: for certainly great *Riches* have sold more Men than they have bought out. Seek not proud *Riches*, but such as thou maist get justly, use soberly, distribute chearfully, and leave contentedly: Yet have no Abstract nor Friarly contempt of them, but distinguish, as *Cicero* saith well of *Rabirius Posthumus*; *In studio rei amplificandæ apparebat, non Avaritiæ prædam, sed Instrumentum Bonitati, quæri.* Hearken also to *Solomon*, and beware of hasty gathering of *Riches*: *Qui festinat*

ad Divitias, non erit insons. The Poets feign, that when *Plutus* (which is *Riches*) is sent from *Jupiter*, he limps, and goes slowly; but when he is sent from *Pluto*, he runs, and is swift of foot: meaning, that *Riches* gotten by good means, and just labour, pace slowly: but when they come by the death of others (as by the Course of Inheritance, Testaments, and the like) they come tumbling upon a Man. But it might be applied likewise to *Pluto*, taking him for the Devil: for when *Riches* come from the Devil (as by Fraud, and Oppression, and unjust means) they come upon Speed. The *Wayes to enrich* are many, and most of them soul. *Parsimony* is one of the best, and yet is not innocent; for it withholdeth Men from Works of Liberality and Charity. The *Improvement of the Ground* is the most natural Obtaining of *Riches*: for it is our Great Mothers Blessing, the Earths, but it is slow; and yet where Men of great wealth do stoop to Husbandry, it multiplyeth *Riches* exceedingly. I knew a Nobleman in *England*, that had the greatest Audits of any Man in my time: A great Grasier, a great Sheep-Master, a great Timber-Man, a great Colliar, a great Corn-Master, a great Lead-Man, and so of Iron, and a Number of the like points of Husbandry:

so

so as the Earth seemed a Sea to him in respect of the perpetual Importation. It was truly observed by One, that himself came very hardly to a little *Riches*, and very easily to great *Riches*: for when a Mans Stock is come to that, that he can expect the Prime of Markets, and overcome those bargains, which for their greatness are few Mens Money, and be Partner in the Industries of Younger Men, he cannot but encrease mainly. The *Gains* of *Ordinary Trades* and *Vocations* are honest, and furthered by two things, chiefly, by Diligence, and by a good Name, for good and fair dealing. But the *Gains* of *Bargains* are of a more doubtful Nature, when Men shall wait upon others Necessity, broak by Servants and Instruments to draw them on, put off Others cunningly that would be better Chapmen, and the like practises which are crafty and naught. As for the *Chopping of Bargains*, when a Man buys, not to hold, but to sell over again, that commonly grindeth double, both upon the Seller, and upon the Buyer. *Sharings* do greatly *enrich*, if the Hands be well chosen that are trusted. *Usury* is the certainest means of Gain, though one of the worst; as that whereby a Man doth eat his Bread, *In sudore vultus alieni*; and besides, doth plough upon Sundayes.

dayes. But yet, certain though it be, it hath Flaws; for that the Scriveners and Brokers do value unsound Men to serve their own turn. The *Fortune*, in being the first in an *Invention*, or in a *Privilege*, doth cause sometimes a wonderful Overgrowth in *Riches*; as it was with the first Sugar Man in the *Canaries*: therefore if a Man can play the true *Logician*, to have as well Judgement as Invention, he may do great Matters, especially if the Times be fit. He that resteth upon *Gains Certain*, shall hardly grow to great *Riches*; and he that puts all upon *Adventures*, doth oftentimes break, and come to Poverty: It is good therefore to guard *Adventures* with *Certainties* that may uphold losses. *Monopolies* and *Coemption* of Wares for *Resale*, where they are not restrained, are great means to *enrich*, especially if the Party have intelligence what things are like to come into request, and to store himself before-hand. *Riches* gotten by *Service*, though it be of the best Rise, yet when they are gotten by Flattery, Feeding Humours, and other Servile Conditions, they may be placed amongst the Worst. As for fishing for *Testaments* and *Executorships*, (as *Tacitus* saith of *Seneca*, *Testamenta & Orbos tanquam fulgores vapi*) it is yet worse.

By how much Men ſubmit themſelves to meaner perſons, then in *Service.* Believe not much them that ſeem to deſpiſe *Riches*; for they deſpiſe them that deſpair of them, and none worſe when they come to them. Be not Penny-wiſe; *Riches* have Wings, and ſometimes they Fly away of themſelves; ſometimes they muſt be ſet Flying to bring in more. Men leave their *Riches* either to their Kindred, or to the Publick; and moderate Portions proſper beſt in both. A great State left to an Heir, is as a Lure to all the Birds of prey, round about to ſeize on him, if he be not the better ſtabliſhed in Years and Judgement. Likewiſe glorious Gifts and Foundations are like *Sacrifices without Salt*, and but the *Painted Sepulchers of Alms*, which ſoon will putrifie and corrupt inwardly: Therefore meaſure not thine advancements by quantity, but frame them by meaſure; and deſerr not Charities till death: For certainly if a Man weigh it rightly, he that doth ſo is rather liberal of another Mans, than of his own.

Of Prophecies.

XXXV.

I Mean not to speak of *Divine Prophecies*, nor of Heathen Oracles, nor of Natural Predictions, but onely of *Prophecies* that have been of certain Memory, and from hidden Causes. Saith the *Pythonissa* to *Saul*, *To morrow thou and thy Son shall be with me.* *Homer* hath these Verses;

At Domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur Oris,
Et Nati Natorum, & qui nascentur ab illis:

A *Prophecy* as it seems of the *Roman* Empire. *Seneca* the *Tragedian* hath these Verses;

——— Venient Annis
Secula seris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, & ingens
Pateat Tellus, Typhisque novos
Detegat Orbes; nec sit Terris
Ultima Thule:

A *Prophecy* of the *Discovery* of *America*. The Daughter of *Polycrates* dreamed that

Jupiter

Jupiter Bathed her Father, and *Apollo* Anointed him: And it came to pass that he was Crucified in an open Place, where the Sun made his Body run with Sweat, and the Rain washed it. *Philip* of *Macedon* dreamed he sealed up his Wives Belly; whereby he did expound it that his Wife should be barren: But *Aristander* the Soothsayer told him his Wife was with Child, because Men do not use to Seal Vessels that are empty. A Phantasme that appeared to *M. Brutus* in his Tent, said to him, *Philippis iterùm me videbis. Tiberius* said to *Galba*, *Tu quoque, Galba degustabis Imperium.* In *Vespasians* time there went a *Prophecy* in the East, that those that should come forth of *Judea* should Reign over the World: Which though it may be was meant of our *Saviour*, yet *Tacitus* expounds it of *Vespasian*. *Domitian* dreamed the night before he was slain, that a Golden Head was growing out of the Nape of his Neck: And indeed the Succession that followed him for many years made Golden Times. *Henry* the sixth of *England* said of *Henry* the seventh, when he was a Lad and gave him Water, *This is the Lad that shall enjoy the Crown, for which we strive.* When I was in *France*, I heard from one Doctor *Pena*, that the *Queen Mother*, who was given

to

to curious Arts, caused the *King* her Husbands Nativity to be Calculated under a false Name: And the Astrologer gave a Judgement, that he should be killed in a Duel; at which the Queen laughed, thinking her Husband to be above Challenges and Duels: But he was slain upon a Course at Tilt, the Splinters of the Staffe of *Montgomery* going in at his Beaver. The trivial *Prophesie* that I heard when I was a Child, and Queen *Elizabeth* was in the Flower of her Years, was;

When Hempe is spun,
England's *done.*

Whereby it was generally conceived, that after the *Princes* had Reigned, which had the principal Letters of that Word *Hempe*, (which were *Henry*, *Edward*, *Mary*, *Philip*, and *Elizabeth*,) *England* should come to utter Confusion, which thanks be to God is verified in the Change of the Name; for that the Kings Style is now no more of *England*, but of *Britain*. There was also another *Prophecy*, before the Year of 88, which I do not well understand:

There shall be seen upon a day,
Between the Bangh *and the May,*
The Black Fleet of Norway. *When*

When that is come and gone,
England *build Houses of Lime and Stone,*
For after Wars shall you have none.

It was generally conceived to be meant of the *Spanish* Fleet that came in 88. For that the King of *Spains* Sir-name, as they say, is *Norway*. The Prediction of *Regiomontanus*,

Octogesimus octavus mirabilis Annus.

Was thought likewise accomplished, in the sending of that great Fleet, being the greatest in Strength, though not in Number, that ever swam upon the Sea. As for *Cleon's* Dream, I think it was a Jest: It was, That he was devoured of a long Dragon; and it was expounded of a Maker of Sausages that troubled him exceedingly. There are numbers of the like kind, especially if you include *Dreams* and *Predictions* of *Astrology*. But I have set down these few only of certain credit for example. My judgement is, that they ought all to be despised, and ought to serve but for Winter talk by the Fire side: Though, when I say *Despised*, I mean it as for Belief; for otherwise, the spreading or publishing of them is in no sort to be *Despised*; for they have done much mischief. And

I see many severe Laws made to suppress them. That, that hath given them grace, and some credit, consisteth in three things: First, That Men mark when they hit, and never mark when they miss; as they do generally also of *Dreams*. The Second is, That probable Conjectures, or obscure Traditions, many times turn themselves into *Prophecies*, while the Nature of Man, which coveteth *Divination*, thinks it no peril to fore-tell that, which indeed they do but collect: As that of *Seneca's* Verse. For so much was then subject to Demonstration, that the Globe of the Earth had great Parts beyond the *Atlantick*; which might be probably conceived not to be all Sea: And adding thereto, the Tradition in *Plato's Timæus*, and his *Atlanticus*, it might encourage one to turn it to a *Prediction*. The Third and Last (which is the Great one) is, That almost all of them, being infinite in number, have been Impostures, and by idle and crafty Brains meerly contrived and feigned after the Event past.

Of

Of Ambition.

XXXVI.

Ambition is like *Choler*, which is an Humour that maketh Men Active, Earneſt, full of Alacrity, and Stirring, if it be not ſtopped: But if it be ſtopped, and cannot have his way, it becometh Aduſt, and thereby Malign and Venomous. So *Ambitious Men*, if they find the way open for their Riſing, and ſtill get forward, they are rather Buſie than Dangerous: but if they be checkt in their deſires, they become ſecretly diſcontent, and look upon Men and Matters with an Evil Eye, and are beſt pleaſed when things goe backward, which is the worſt property in a Servant of a Prince or State. Therefore it is good for Princes, if they uſe *Ambitious Men*, to handle it ſo, as they be ſtill Progreſſive, and not Retrograde: which becauſe it cannot be without inconvenience, it is good not to uſe ſuch Natures at all. For if they riſe not with their Service, they will take order to make their Service fall with them. But ſince we have ſaid it were good not to uſe Men of *Ambitious Natures*, except it be upon neceſſity, it is fit we ſpeak in what

what cases they are of necessity. Good Commanders in the Wars must be taken, be they never so *Ambitious*: for the use of their Service dispenceth with the rest; and to take a Souldier without *Ambition*, is to pull off his Spurs. There is also great use of *Ambitious Men*, in being Skreens to Princes in matters of Danger and Envy: for no Man will take that part, except he be like a Seeld Dove, that mounts and mounts, because he cannot see about him. There is use also of *Ambitious Men*, in pulling down the Greatness of any Subject that over-tops; as *Tiberius* used *Macro* in pulling down of *Sejanus*. Since therefore they must be used in such cases, there resteth to speak how they are to be bridled, that they may be less *Dangerous*. There is less *Danger* of them, if they be of mean Birth, than if they be Noble; and if they be rather harsh of Nature, than Gracious and Popular; and if they be rather new raised, than grown cunning, and fortified in their Greatness. It is counted by some a weakness in Princes to have *Favourites*; but it is of all others the best Remedy against *Ambitious Great Ones*. For when the way of pleasuring and displeasuring lyeth by the *Favourite*, it is impossible any other should be *Over-great*. Another means to curb them,

is

is to ballance them by others as proud as they. But then there must be some moderate Counsellours to keep things steady: for without that Ballast the Ship will roul too much. At the least, a Prince may animate and inure some meaner Persons, to be as it were Scourges to *Ambitious Men*. As for the having of them obnoxious to ruine, if they be of fearful Natures, it may do well; but if they be Stout and Daring, it may precipitate their Designes, and prove Dangerous. As for the pulling of them down, if the Affairs require it, and that it may not be done with safety suddenly, the only way is, the interchange continually of Favours and Disgraces, whereby they may not know what to expect, and be as it were in a Wood. Of *Ambitions*, it is less harmful the *Ambition* to prevail in great things, than that other to appear in every thing: for that breeds confusion, and marrs business. But yet it is less Danger, to have an *Ambitious Man* stirring in business, than great in dependances. He that seeketh to be eminent amongst able Men, hath a great task; but that is ever good for the Publick; but he that plots to be the only Figure amongst Cyphers, is the decay of an whole Age. *Honour* hath three things in it: The Vantage Ground to do good,

good, the approach to Kings and principal Persons, and the raising of a Mans own Fortunes. He that hath the best of these Intentions when he aspireth, is an honest Man; and that Prince that can discern of these Intentions in another that aspireth, is a wise Prince. Generally let Princes and States choose such Ministers as are more sensible of Duty, than of Rising; and such as love Business rather upon Conscience, than upon Bravery; and let them discern a busie Nature from a willing Mind.

Of Masques and Triumphs.

XXXVII.

THese things are but Toyes, to come amongst such serious Observations. But yet, since Princes will have such things, it is better they should be graced with Elegancy, than daubed with Cost. *Dancing to Song*, is a thing of great State and Pleasure. I understand it, that the Song be in Quire, placed aloft, and accompanied with some broken Musick, and the Ditty fitted to the Device. *Acting in Song*, especially in *Dialogues*, hath

hath an extreme good Grace: I say *Acting*, not *Dancing*, (for that is a mean and vulgar thing) and the *Voices* of the *Dialogue* would be strong and manly, (a Base, and a Tenour, no Treble) and the *Ditty* High and Tragical, not Nice or Dainty. *Several Quires* placed one over against another, and taking the Voice by Catches, *Anthem*-wise, give great Pleasure. *Turning Dances* into *Figure* is a childish Curiosity; and generally let it be noted, that those things which I here set down, are such as do naturally take the Sense, and not respect petty Wonderments. It is true, the *Alterations* of *Scenes*, so it be quietly, and without noise, are things of great Beauty and Pleasure: for they feed and relieve the Eye, before it be full of the same Object. Let the *Scenes* abound with *Light*, specially *Coloured* and *Varied*; and let the Masquers, or any other that are to come down from the *Scene*, have some motions upon the *Scene* it self, before their coming down; for it draws the Eye strangely, and makes it with great Pleasure to desire to see that it cannot perfectly discern. Let the *Songs* be *Loud* and *Chearful*, and not *Chirpings* or *Pulings*. Let the *Musick* likewise be *Sharp* and *Loud*, and *Well placed*. The *Colours* that shew best by Candle-light, are

White, Carnation, and a kind of Sea-water Green; and *Oes* or *Spangs*, as they are of no great Cost, so they are of most Glory. As for *Rich Embroydery*, it is lost, and not discerned. Let the *Suits* of the *Masquers* be graceful, and such as become the Person when the Vizars are off, not after examples of known Attires; Turks, Souldiers, Mariners, and the like. Let *Anti-masques* not be long; they have been commonly of Fools, Satyrs, Baboons, Wild-men, Anticks, Beasts, Spirits, Witches, Ethiopes, Pigmies, Turquets, Nymphs, Rustlicks, Cupids, Statua's, moving, and the like. As for *Angels*, it is not Comical enough to put them in *Anti-masques*; And any thing that is hideous, as Devils, Gyants, is on the other side as unfit. But cheifly, let the *Musick* of them be Recreative, and with some strange Changes. Some *sweet Odours* suddenly coming forth, without any drops falling, are in such a Company, as there is Steam and Heat, things of great pleasure and refreshment. *Double Masques*, one of Men, another of Ladies, addeth State and Variety. But all is nothing, except the *Room* be kept clear and neat.

For *Justs*, and *Turneys*, and *Barriers*, the Glories of them are cheifly in the Chariots

rioes wherein the Challenges make their Entry, ſpecially if they be drawn with ſtrange Beaſts, as Lions, Bears, Camels, and the like; or in the Devices of their Entrance, or in Bravery of their Liveries, or in the goodly Furniture of their Horſes and Armour. But enough of theſe toyes.

Of Nature in Men.

XXXVIII.

NATURE is often Hidden, ſometimes Overcome, ſeldome Extinguiſhed. Force maketh *Nature* more violent in the Return, Doctrine and Diſcourſe maketh *Nature* leſs importune: but Cuſtome only doth alter and ſubdue *Nature*. He that ſeeketh Victory over his *Nature*, let him not ſet himſelf too great, nor too ſmall Tasks, for the firſt will make him Dejected, by often Failings; and the ſecond will make him a ſmall Proceeder, though by often Prevailings. And at the firſt let him practice with Helps, as Swimmers do with Bladders or Ruſhes; but after a time let him practice

with disadvantages, as Dancers do with thick shoes. For it breeds great Perfection, if the Practice be harder than the Use. Where *Nature* is mighty, and therefore the Victory hard, the Degrees had need be, First, to stay and arrest *Nature* in time, like to him that would say over the four and twenty Letters when he was Angry, then to go less in quantity; As if one should in forbearing Wine, come from drinking Healths to a Draught at a Meal, and lastly to discontinue altogether: but if a Man have the Fortitude and Resolution to enfranchise himself at once, that is the best;

Optimus ille animi vindex, lædentia pectus
Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel.

Neither is the Ancient Rule amiss to bend *Nature* as a wand to a contrary Extream, whereby to set it right, understanding it where the contrary Extream is no Vice. Let not a Man force a Habit upon himself with a perpetual Continuance, but with some Intermission; for both the Pause re-inforceth the New Onset: and if a Man that is not perfect be ever in practice, he shall as well practise his Errours, as his Abilities, and induce one Habit of both; and there is no means

means to help this, but by seasonable Intermission. But let not a Man trust his Victory over his *Nature* too far, for *Nature* will lye buried a great time, and yet revive upon the Occasion or Temptation. Like as it was with *Æsop's Damsel*, turned from a Cat to a Woman, who sate very demurely at the Boards end, till a Mouse ran before her. Therefore let a Man either avoid the Occasion altogether, or put himself often to it, that he may be little moved with it. A Mans *Nature* is best perceived in privateness, for there is no Affectation in Passion, for that putteth a Man out of his precepts; and in a new Case or Experiment, for their Custome leaveth him. They are happy Men whose *Natures* sort with their Vocations, otherwise they may say, *Multùm Incola fuit Anima mea*, when they converse in those things they do not affect. In Studies whatsoever a Man commandeth upon himself, let him set hours for it; but whatsoever is agreeable to his *Nature*, let him take no care for any set Times, for his Thoughts will fly to it of themselves; so as the spaces of other business or Studies will suffice. A Mans *Nature* runs either to Herbs or Weeds; therefore let him seasonably water the one, and destroy the other.

Of Custome and Education.

XXXIX.

MEn Thoughts are much according to their Inclination, their Discourse and Speeches according to their Learning and infused Opinions; but their Deeds are after as they have been *Accustomed*: And therefore, as *Machiavel* well noteth, (though in an ill-favoured Instance) There is no trusting to the Force of Nature, nor to the bravery of Words, except it be Corroborate by *Custom*. His instance is, that for the atchieving of a desperate Conspiracy, a Man should not rest upon the fiercenes of any Mans Nature, or his Resolute Undertakings; but take such an one as hath had his Hands formerly in blood. But *Machiavel* knew not of a *Friar Clement*, nor a *Ravillac*, nor a *Jaureguy*, nor a *Balthazar Gerard*; yet his Rule holdeth still, that Nature, nor the Engagement of Words are not so forcible as *Customes*. Onely Superstition is now so well advanced, that Men of the first blood are as firm as Butchers by Occupation, and Votary Resolution is made Equipollent to *Custome*, even in matter of blood.

blood. In other things the predominancy of *Custome* is every where visible, insomuch as a Man would wonder to hear Men Profess, Protest, Engage, Give great Words, and then Do just as they have Done before, as if they were dead Images, and Engines moved onely by the Wheels of *Custome*. We see also the Reign or Tyranny of *Custome*, what it is. The *Indians* (I mean the Sect of their Wise Men) lay themselves quietly upon a stack of Wood, and so sacrifice themselves by fire. Nay the Wives strive to be burned with the Corpses of their Husbands. The Lads of *Sparta* of ancient time, were wont to be scourged upon the Altar of *Diana* without so much as Quecking. I remember in the beginning of *Queen Elizabeths* Time of *England*, an *Irish Rebel* condemned, put up a Petition to the *Deputy* that he might be hanged in a Wyth, and not in an Halter, because it had been so used with former *Rebels*. There be *Monks* in *Russia*, for Penance, that will sit a whole night in a Vessel of Water, till they be ingaged with hard Ice. Many Examples may be put of the Force of *Custome*, both upon mind and body. Therefore since *Custome* is the principal Magistrate of Mans life, let Men by all means endeavour to obtain good *Customes*. Certainly *Custome*

is most perfect when it beginneth in young years: This we call *Education*, which is in effect but an *early Custome*. So we see in Languages, the Tongue is more pliant to all Expressions and Sounds, the Joynts are more supple to all Feats of Activity and motions in Youth than afterwards. For it is true, the late Learners cannot so well take the plie, except it be in some minds that have not suffered themselves to fix, but have kept themselves open and prepared to receive continual amendment, which is exceeding rare. But if the Force of *Custome*, Simple and Separate, be great, the Force of *Custome* Copulate, and Conjoyned, and Collegiate, is far greater. For there Example teacheth, Company comforteth, Emulation quickneth, Glory raiseth: So as in such Places the Force of *Custome* is in his Exaltation. Certainly the great multiplication of Vertues upon humane Nature, resteth upon Societies well Ordained and Disciplined: for Commonwealths and good Governments do nourish Vertue Grown, but do not much mend the Seeds. But the misery is, that the most effectual Means are now applied to the Ends least to be desired.

Of Fortune.

XL.

IT cannot be denyed, but outward accidents conduce much to *Fortune*: Favour, Opportunity, Death of others, Occasion fitting Vertue. But chiefly the mould of a mans *Fortune* is in his own hands. *Faber quisque Fortunæ suæ*, saith the Poet. And the most frequent of External Causes is, that the Folly of one man is the *Fortune* of another. For no man prospers so suddenly, as by others Errours. *Serpens nisi Serpentem comederit non fit Draco.* Overt and Apparent Vertues bring forth Praise, but there be Secret and Hidden Vertues that bring forth *Fortune.* Certain Deliveries of a mans self, which have no Name. The *Spanish* Name, *Desemboltura*, partly expresseth them, when there be not Stands nor Restivenes in a mans Nature, but that the Wheels of his Mind keep way with the Wheels of his *Fortune.* For so *Livie* (after he had described *Cato Major*, in these words, *In illo viro, tantum Robur Corporis & Animi fuit, ut quocunque loco natus esset, Fortunam sibi facturus videretur*)

falleth upon that that he had, *Versatile Ingenium*. Therefore if a man look sharply and attentively, he shall see *Fortune*: For though she be blind, yet she is not invisible. The Way of *Fortune* is like the *Milken Way* in the Skie, which is a Meeting or Knot of a number of small Stars; not seen asunder, but giving Light together: So are there a number of little, and scarce discerned Vertues, or rather Faculties and Customes that make men *Fortunate*. The *Italians* note some of them, such as a man would little think: When they speak of one that cannot do amiss, they will throw in into his other Conditions that he hath, *Poco di Matto*. And certainly there be not two more *Fortunate* Properties, than to have a *Little* of the *Fool*, and not *Too much* of the *Honest*. Therefore extreme Lovers of their Country, or Masters, were never *Fortunate*, neither can they be. For when a man placeth his Thoughts without himself, he goeth not his own way. An hasty *Fortune* maketh an Enterpriser, and Remover, (the *French* hath it better, *Entrepreneant*, or *Remuant*) but the exercised *Fortune* maketh the able man. *Fortune* is to be Honoured and Respected, and it be but for her Daughters, *Confidence*, and *Reputation*: For those two Felicity breedeth; the first within

within a mans self, the later in others towards him. All Wise men to decline the Envy of their own Vertues, use to ascribe them to Providence and *Fortune*, for so they may the better assume them: And besides, it is Greatness in a man to be the Care of the Higher Power. So *Cæsar* said to the Pilot in the Tempest, *Cæsarem portas, & Fortunam ejus*. So *Sylla* chose the Name of *Felix*, and not of *Magnus*. And it hath been noted, that those that ascribe openly too much to their own Wisdome and Policy, end *Infortunate*. It is written, That *Timotheus* the *Athenian*, after he had, in the Account he gave to the State of his Government, often interlaced his Speech, *And in this Fortune had no part*, never prospered in any thing he undertook afterwards. Certainly there be, whose *Fortunes* are like *Homers Verses*, that have a Slide and Easiness more than the Verses of other Poets; as *Plutarch* saith of *Timoleons Fortune*, in respect of that of *Agesilaus*, or *Epaminondas*: And that this should be, no doubt it is much in a mans self.

Of

Of Usury.

XLI.

MAny have made witty Invectives against *Usury*. They say, that it is pity the Devil should have Gods part, which is the *Tythe*. That the *Usurer* is the greatest Sabbath breaker, because his Plough goeth every *Sunday*. That the *Usurer* is the *Drone* that *Virgil* speaketh of:

Ignavum fucos pecus à præsepibus arcent.

That the *Usurer* breaketh the first Law that was made for Mankind after the Fall; which was, *In sudore vultus tui comedes panem tuum*, not *In sudore vultus alieni*. That *Usurers* should have Orenge-tawny Bonnets, because they do *Judaize*. That it is against Nature, for *Money* to beget *Money*, and the like. I say this only, That *Usury* is a *Concessum propter duritiem cordis*: For since there must be Borrowing and Lending, and Men are so hard of Heart, as they will not lend freely, *Usury* must be permitted. Some others have made Suspicious and Cunning Pro-

Propositions of Banks, discovery of mens Estates, and other Inventions, but few have spoken of *Usury* usefully. It is good to set before us the *Incommodities* and *Commodities* of *Usury*, that the good may be either Weighed out, or Culled out; and warily to provide, that while we make forth to that which is better, we meet not with that which is worse.

The *Discommodities* of *Usury* are, First, That it makes fewer Merchants: for were it not for this Lazy Trade of *Usury*, money would not lye still, but would in great part be employed upon Merchandizing, which is the *Vena porta* of Wealth in a State. The Second, That it makes poor Merchants: for as a Farmer cannot husband his Ground so well, if he sit at a great Rent; so the Merchant cannot drive his Trade so well, if he sit at great *Usury*. The Third is incident to the other two; and that is, The decay of Customes of Kings or States, which Ebb or Flow with Merchandizing. The Fourth, That it bringeth the Treasure of a Realm or State into a few hands: for the *Usurer* being at Certainties, and others at Uncertainties, at the end of the Game most of the money will be in the Box; and ever a State flourisheth, when Wealth is more equally spread. The

Fifth,

Fifth, that it beats down the Price of Land: for the employment of Money is chiefly either Merchandizing or Purchasing, and *Usury* way-layes both. The Sixth, That it doth dull and damp all Industries, Improvements, and new Inventions, wherein Money would be stirring, if it were not for this Slug. The Last, That it is the Canker and Ruine of many mens Estates, which in process of time breeds a publick Poverty.

On the other side, the *Commodities* of *Usury* are: First, That howsoever *Usury* in some respect hindreth Merchandizing, yet in some other it advanceth it: for it is certain, that the greatest part of Trade is driven by young Merchants, upon borrowing at Interest: So as if the *Usurer* either call in, or keep back his Money, there will ensue presently a great stand of Trade. The Second is, That were it not for this easie borrowing upon *Interest*, Mens necessities would draw upon them a most sudden undoing, in that they would be forced to sell their Means (be it Lands or Goods) farr under foot, and so, whereas *Usury* doth but gnaw upon them, bad Markets would swallow them quite up. As for Mortgaging or Pawning, it will little mend the matter; for either men will not take Pawns without *Use*, or if they do, they will

will look precisely for the Forfeiture. I remember a cruel monyed man in the Country that would say, The Devil take this *Usury*, it keeps us from Forfeitures of Mortgages and Bonds. The Third and Last is, That it is a vanity to conceive, that there would be ordinary borrowing without profit; and it is impossible to conceive, the number of Inconveniencies that will ensue, if borrowing be cramped: Therefore, to speak of the abolishing of *Usury* is idle. All States have ever had it in one kind, or rate or other; so as that opinion must be sent to *Utopia*.

To speak now of the *Reformation* and *Reiglement* of *Usury*, how the *Discommodities* of it may be best avoided, and the *Commodities* retained. It appears by the ballance of *Commodities* and *Discommodities* of *Usury*, two things are to be reconciled: The one, that the *Tooth* of *Usury* be grinded, that it bite not too much: The other, that there be left open a means to invite monyed men to lend to the Merchants, for the Continuing and Quickning of Trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce two several *Sorts* of *Usury*, a *Less*, and a *Greater*. For if you reduce *Usury* to one Low Rate, it will ease the common Borrower, but the Merchant will be to seek for Money. And it is to be

be noted, that the Trade of Merchandize, being the most Lucrative, may bear *Usury*, at a good Rate; other Contracts not so.

To serve both Intentions, the way would be briefly thus: That there be *Two Rates* of *Usury*, the one Free and General for all, the other under *Licence* only to *Certain Persons*, and in *Certain Places* of *Merchandizing*. First therefore, Let *Usury in general be reduced to Five in the Hundred*, and let that Rate be proclaimed to be Free and Current; and let the State shut it self out to take any penalty for the same. This will preserve Borrowing from any general Stop or Dryness. This will ease infinite Borrowers in the Country. This will in good part raise the Price of Land, because Land purchased at Sixteen years purchase, will yield Six in the Hundred, and somewhat more, whereas this Rate of Interest yields but Five. This by like reason will Encourage and Edge Industrious and Profitable Improvements, because many will rather venture in that kind, than take Five in the Hundred, especially having been used to greater Profit. Secondly, Let there be *Certain Persons Licensed to Lend to known Merchants*, upon *Usury*, at a *High Rate*, and let it be with the Cautions following. Let the Rate be, even with the

Merchant

Merchant himself, somewhat more easie, than that he used formerly to pay: for by that means all Borrowers shall have some ease by this Reformation, be he Merchant, or whosoever. Let it be no Bank or Common Stock, but every man be master of his own money. Not that I altogether mislike Banks, but they will hardly be brooked, in regard of certain suspicions. Let the State be answered some small matter for the Licence, and the rest left to the Lender; for if the Abatement be but small, it will no whit discourage the Lender. For be, for Example, that took before Ten or Nine in the Hundred, will sooner descend to Eight in the Hundred, than give over his Trade of *Usury*, and goe from certain Gains to Gains of Hazard. Let these licensed Lenders be in Number Indefinite, but restrained to certain principal Cities and Towns of Merchandizing, for then they will be hardly able to colour other mens moneys in the Country, so as the *Licence of Nine* will not suck away the current *Rate of Five*; for no man will Lend his moneys farr off, nor put them into unknown hands.

If it be objected, That this doth in a sort Authorize *Usury*, which before was in some places but Permissive: The Answer is, that it

it is better to mitigate *Usury* by *Declaration*, than to suffer it to Rage by *Connivence*.

Of Youth and Age.

XLII.

A Man that is *Young in Years*, may be Old in Hours, if he have lost no time, but that happeneth rarely. Generally *Youth* is like the first Cogitations, not so Wise as the second; for there is a *Youth* in thoughts as well as in Ages: And yet the Invention of *Young Men* is more lively than that of Old, and Imaginations stream into their minds better, and, as it were, more Divinely. Natures that have much heat, and great and violent desires and perturbations, are not ripe for Action till they have passed the Meridian of their years; As it was with *Julius Cæsar*, and *Septimius Severus*, of the latter of whom it is said, *Juventutem egit Erroribus, imò Furoribus plenam*; and yet he was the ablest Emperor almost of all the List. But reposed Natures may do well in *Youth*, as it is seen in *Augustus Cæsar*, *Cosmus* Duke of *Florence*, *Gaston de Foix*, and others. On the other side,

side. Heat and Vivacity in *Age* is an excellent Composition for busines. *Young Men* are fitter to invent than to judge, fitter for Execution than for Counsel, and fitter for new projects than for setled busines. For the Experience of *Age* in things that fall within the compass of it, directeth them, but in new things abuseth them. The Errours of *Young Men* are the ruine of busines; but the Errours of *Aged Men* amount but to this, that more might have been done or sooner. *Young Men* in the conduct and manage of Actions embrace more than they can hold, stir more than they can quiet, fly to the end without consideration of the means and degrees, pursue some few Principles which they have chanced upon absurdly, care not to innovate, which draws unknown inconveniencies, use extreme Remedies at first, and that which doubleth all Errours, will not acknowledge or retract them, like an unready Horse, that will neither Stop nor Turn. *Men* of *Age* object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon, and seldome drive busines home to the full period, but content themselves with a mediocrity of Successe. Certainly it is good to compound Employments of both; for that will be good for the *Present*, because the vertues of either *Age* may

correct

correct the defects of both, and good for Succeſſion, that *Young Men* may be Learners, while *Men* in *Age* are Actors. And laſtly, good for *Extern Accidents*, becauſe Authority followeth *Old Men*, and Favour and Popularity *Youth*. But for the moral part perhaps *Youth* will have the preheminence, as *Age* hath for the politick. A certain *Rabbine* upon the Text, *Your Young Men ſhall ſee viſions, and your Old Men ſhall dream dreams*, inferreth, that *Young Men* are admitted nearer to God than *Old*, becauſe *Viſion* is a clearer Revelation than a *Dream*. And certainly the more a man drinketh of the World, the more it intoxicateth; and *Age* doth profit rather in the powers of Underſtanding, than in the Vertues of the Will and Affections. There be ſome have an Over-early Ripeneſs in their years, which fadeth betimes: Theſe are firſt ſuch as have brittle Wits, the Edge whereof is ſoon turned; ſuch as was *Hermogenes* the *Rhetorician*, whoſe Books are exceeding Subtil, who afterwards waxed Stupid. A ſecond ſort is of thoſe that have ſome natural Diſpoſitions which have better grace in *Youth* than in *Age*; ſuch as is a fluent and luxurient ſpeech, which becomes *Youth* well, but not *Age*: So *Tully* ſaith of *Hortenſius*, *Idem manebat, neque*

neque idem decebat. The third is of ſuch as take too high a ſtrain at the firſt, and are magnanimous more than Tract of years can uphold: As was *Scipio Africanus*, of whom *Livy* ſaith in effect, *Ultima primis cedebant.*

Of Beauty.

XLIII.

VErtue is like a rich Stone, beſt plain ſet; and ſurely Vertue is beſt in a Body that is comely, though not of delicate Features, and that hath rather Dignity of Preſence, than *Beauty* of Aſpect. Neither is it almoſt ſeen that very *Beautifull Perſons* are otherwiſe of great Vertue, as if Nature were rather buſie not to erre, than in labour to produce Excellency; and therefore they prove accompliſhed, but not of great Spirit, and ſtudy rather Behaviour than Vertue. But this holds not alwayes, for *Auguſtus Cæſar*, *Titus Veſpaſianus*, *Philip le Belle* of *France*, *Edward* the *Fourth* of *England*, *Alcibiades* of *Athens*, *Iſmael* the *Sophy* of *Perſia*, were all High and Great Spirits, and yet the moſt *Beautifull Men* of their Times. In *Beauty* that

that of Favour is more than that of Colour, and that of decent and gracious motion more than that of Favour. That is the best part of *Beauty* which a Picture cannot express, no nor the first sight of the Life. There is no excellent *Beauty* that hath not some Strangeness in the Proportion. A man cannot tell, whether *Apelles*, or *Albert Durer*, were the more Trifler: whereof the one would make a Personage by Geometrical Proportions, the other by taking the best Parts out of divers Faces to make one excellent. Such Personages I think would please no body but the Painter that made them. Not but I think a Painter may make a better Face than ever was, but he must do it by a kind of Felicity, (as a Musician that maketh an excellent Ayre in musick) and not by Rule. A man shall see Faces, that if you examine them part by part, you shall find never a good, and yet all together do well. If it be true, that the principal part of *Beauty* is in decent motion, certainly it is no marvel, though *Persons* in *Years* seem many times more amiable, *Pulchrorum Autumnus Pulcher*; for no *Youth* can be comely but by pardon, and considering the *Youth* as ever make up the comelineſs. *Beauty* is as Summer-Fruits, which are easie to corrupt, and cannot last, and for the most

part

part it makes a dissolute *Youth*, and an *Age* a little out of countenance: but yet certainly again, if it light well, it maketh Vertues shine, and Vices blush.

Of Deformity.

XLIV.

Deformed Persons are commonly even with Nature, for as Nature hath done ill by them, so do they by Nature, being for the most part (as the Scripture saith) *Void of natural Affection*, and so they have their Revenge of Nature. Certainly, there is a consent between the body and the mind, and where Nature erreth in the one, she ventureth in the other; *Ubi peccat in uno, periclitatur in altero.* But because there is in Man an Election touching the Frame of his mind, and a Necessity in the Frame of his body, the Stars of natural Inclination are sometimes obscured by the Sun of Discipline and Vertue: Therefore it is good to consider of *Deformity*, not as a Sign which is more deceivable, but as a Cause which seldome faileth of the Effect. Whosoever hath any thing

thing fixed in his Person that doth induce Contempt, hath also a perpetual Spur in himself to rescue and deliver himself from Scorn. Therefore all *Deformed Persons* are extreme bold. First, as in their own Defence, as being exposed to Scorn, but in process of Time, by a general Habit. Also it stirreth in them Industry, and especially of this kind, to watch and observe the Weaknesses of others, that they may have somewhat to repay. Again, in their Superiours, it quencheth Jealousie towards them, as Persons that they think they may at pleasure despise; and it layeth their Competitours and Emulatours asleep, as never believing they should be in possibility of Advancement, till they see them in *Possession*, so that upon the matter, in a great Wit, *Deformity* is an advantage to Rising. Kings in ancient times (and at this present in some Countries) were wont to put great Trust in *Eunuchs*; because they that are envious towards all, are more obnoxious and officious towards one. But yet their Trust towards them hath rather been as to good Spials, and good Whisperers, than good Magistrates and Officers. And much like is the Reason of *Deformed Persons*. Still the ground is, they will if they be of Spirit, seek to free themselves from Scorn, which

which must be either by Vertue or Malice; and therefore let it not be marvelled if sometimes they prove excellent Persons; as was *Agesilaus*, *Zanger* the Son of *Solyman*, *Æsop*, *Gasca* President of *Peru*, and *Socrates* may go likewise amongst them, with others.

Of Building.

XLV.

Houses are built to live in, and not to look on: Therefore let Use be preferred before Uniformity, except where both may be had. Leave the goodly Fabricks of *Houses*, for Beauty onely, to the *Enchanted Palaces* of the *Poets*, who build them with small Cost. He that builds a fair *House* upon an *ill Seat*, committeth himself to Prison. Neither do I reckon it an *ill Seat* onely where the Air is unwholesome, but likewise where the Air is unequal; As you shall see many fine *Seats* set upon a knap of Ground, environed with higher Hills round about it, whereby the Heat of the Sun is pent in, and the Wind gathereth as in Troughs; so as

you ſhall have, and that ſuddenly, as great Diverſity of Heat and Cold, as if you dwelt in ſeveral Places. Neither is it *ill Air* onely that maketh an *ill Seat*, but ill Ways, ill Markets; and if you will conſult with *Momus*, ill Neighbours. I ſpeak not of any more: Want of Water, Want of Wood, Shade and Shelter, Want of Fruitfulneſs, and mixture of Grounds of ſeveral Natures, Want of Proſpect, Want of level Grounds, Want of Places at ſome near Diſtance for Sports of Hunting, Hawking, and Races; Too near the Sea, too remote, having the Commodity of Navigable Rivers, or the Diſcommodity of their Overflowing; Too far off from great Cities, which may hinder Buſineſs, or too near them which Lurcheth all Proviſions, and maketh every thing dear: Where a Man hath a great Living laid together, and where he is ſcanted. All which, as it is impoſſible perhaps to find together, ſo it is good to know them, and think of them, that a Man may take as many as he can; And if he have ſeveral Dwellings, that he ſort them ſo, that what he wanteth in the One, he may find in the Other. *Lucullus* anſwered *Pompey* well, who when he ſaw his Stately Galleries and Rooms ſo large and lightſome in one of his *Houſes*, ſaid, *Surely*

an excellent Place for Summer, but how do you in Winter? Lucullus answered, *Why do you not think me as wise as some Fowl are, that ever change their abode towards the Winter?*

To pass from the *Seat* to the *House* it self, we will do as *Cicero* doth in the Orators Art, who writes Books *De Oratore*; and a Book he entitles *Orator*; whereof the Former delivers the Precepts of the *Art*, and the Latter the *Perfection*. We will therefore describe a *Princely Palace*, making a brief model thereof. For it is strange to see now in *Europe* such Huge *Buildings*, as the *Vatican*, and *Escurial*, and some others be, and yet scarce a very fair Room in them.

First therefore I say you cannot have a perfect *Palace*, except you have two several Sides; a Side for the *Banket*, as is spoken of in the book of *Hester*, and a Side for the *Houshold*; the one for Feasts and Triumphs, and the other for Dwelling. I understand both these Sides to be not onely Returns, but Parts of the *Front*, and to be uniform without, though severally Partitioned within, and to be on both Sides of a great and *stately Tower* in the midst of the *Front*, that as it were joyneth them together on either hand. I would have on the Side of the *Banket* in

front one onely *Goodly Room* above Stairs, of some fourty foot high; and under it a Room for a *Dressing* or *Preparing Place* at times of Triumphs. On the other Side, which is the *Houshold* Side, I wish it divided at the first into a *Hall* and a *Chappel*, (with a Partition between) both of good state and bigness, and those not to go all the length, but to have at the further end a *Winter* and a *Summer Parler*, both fair; and under these Rooms, a fair and large *Cellar* sunk under Ground; and likewise some *Privy Kitchins*, with *Butteries* and *Pantries*, and the like. As for the *Tower*, I would have it two Stories, of eighteen foot high apiece above the two Wings, and a goodly *Leads* upon the Top, railed with *Statua's* interposed, and the same *Tower* to be divided into Rooms, as shall be thought fit. The Stairs likewise to be upper Rooms, let them be upon a fair open *Newel*, and finely railed in with *Images* of *Wood*, cast into a brass Colour, and a very fair *Landing Place* at the Top. But this to be, if you do not point any of the lower Rooms for a Dining Place of Servants, for otherwise you shall have the Servants Dinner after your own; for the steam of it will come up as in a Tunnel. And so much for the *Front*, onely I understand the Heighth of the first Stairs to

be

be sixteen Foot, which is the Heighth of the Lower Room.

Beyond this *Front* is there to be a fair *Court*, but three sides of it of a far lower *Building* than the *Front*. And in all the four Corners of that Court fair Stair-Cases, cast into *Turrets* on the out-side, and not within the Row of *Buildings* themselves. But those *Towers* are not to be of the height of the *Front*, but rather proportionable to the lower *Building*. Let the *Court* not be Paved, for that striketh up a great Heat in Summer, and much Cold in Winter; but onely some Side-Alleys, with a Crose, and the *Quarters* to Graze being kept Shorn, but not too near Shorn. The *Row* of *Return* on the *Banquet Side*, let it be all *Stately Galleries*, in which *Galleries* let there be three, or five fine *Cupola's* in the length of it, placed at equal distance, and fine *Coloured Windows* of several Works. On the Houshold Side, *Chambers* of *Presence* and ordinary Entertainments, with some *Bed Chambers*, and let all three Sides be a double House, without Thorow-Lights on the Sides, that you may have Rooms from the Sun, both for Fore-noon and After-noon. Cast it also, that you may have Rooms both for Summer and Winter, Shady for Summer, and Warm for Winter.

You shall have sometimes fair *Houses* so full of Glass, that one cannot tell where to become to be out of the Sun, or Cold: For *Inbowed Windows* I hold them of good use, (in Cities indeed *Upright* do better, in respect of the Uniformity towards the Street) for they be pretty Retiring Places for Conference; and besides, they keep both the Wind and the Sun off: For that which would strike almost through the Room, doth scarce pass the *Window*. But let them be but few, four in the *Court* on the Sides onely.

Beyond this *Court* let there be an *Inward Court* of the same Square and Heighth, which is to be environed with the *Garden* on all sides; and in the in-side Cloystered upon all sides upon Decent and Beautiful Arches, as high as the first Story. On the *Under Story* towards the *Garden*, let it be turned to a *Grotta*, or place of Shade or Estivation; and onely have opening and *Windows* towards the *Garden*, and be level upon the Floor, no whit sunk under Ground, to avoid all Dampishness: And let there be a *Fountain*, or some fair *Work of Statua's* in the midst of this *Court*, and to be Paved as the other *Court* was. These *Buildings* to be for *Privy Lodgings* on both Sides, and the End for *Privy Galleries*: Whereof you must fore-

fore-see, that one of them be for an *Infirmary*, if the Prince or any special Person should be Sick, with *Chambers*, *Bed Chambers*, *Anticamera*, and *Recamera* joyning to it: This upon the second Story. Upon the *Ground Story* a fair *Gallery*, *Open* upon *Pillars*; and upon the *third Story* likewise, an *Open Gallery* upon *Pillars*, to take the Prospect and Freshness of the *Garden*. At both Corners of the further Side, by way of Return, let there be two Delicate or Rich *Cabinets*, daintily Paved, richly Hanged, Glazed with *Chrystalline Glass*, and a rich *Cupola* in the midst, and all other Elegancy that may be thought upon. In the *Upper Gallery* too I wish that there may be, if the Place will yield it, some *Fountains* running in divers Places from the Wall, with some fine Avoidances. And thus much for the model of the Palace; save that you must have, before you come to the *Front*, three Courts: A *Green Court Plain*, with a Wall about it; a *Second Court* of the same, but more Garnished, with little Turrets, or rather Embellishments upon the Wall; and a *Third Court*, to make a Square with the *Front*, but not to be Built, nor yet Enclosed with a Naked Wall, but Enclosed with *Tarrasses*, Leaded aloft, and fairly Garnished on the three Sides; and

Cloyſtered on the inſide with Pillars, and not with Arches below. As for *Offices*, let them ſtand at diſtance with ſome *Low Galleries*, to paſs from them to the *Palace* it ſelf.

Of Gardens.

XLVI.

GOD *Almighty* firſt Planted a *Garden*; and indeed it is the pureſt of Humane pleaſures. It is the greateſt refreſhment to the Spirits of Man; without which *Buildings* and *Palaces* are but Groſs Handy-works. And a Man ſhall ever ſee, that when Ages grow to Civility and Elegancy, Men come to *Build Stately*, ſooner than to *Garden Finely*: As if *Gardening* were the greater Perfection. I do hold it in the Royal Ordering of *Gardens*, there ought to be *Gardens* for all the *Moneths* in the Year, in which, ſeverally, things of Beauty may be then in ſeaſon. For *December* and *January*, and the latter part of *November*, you muſt take ſuch things as are green all Winter; Holly, Ivy, Bayes, Juniper, Cypreſs-Trees, Eugh, Pine-Apple-Trees, Fir-Trees, Roſemary, Lavender, Periwinckle,

winckle the White, the Purple, and the Blew, Germander, Flags, Orenge-Trees, Lemon-Trees, and Mirtles, if they be stoved, and Sweet Marjorem warm set. There followeth for the latter part of *January*, and *February*, the Mezerion Tree, which then blossomes, Crocus Vernus, both the Yellow and the Gray, Prim-Roses, Anemones, the Early Tulippa, Hiacynthus Orientalis, Chamairis, Fritellaria. For *March* there comes Violets, specially the Single Blew, which are the Earliest, the Yellow Daffadil, the Daizy, the Almond-Tree in Blossome, the Peach-Tree in Blossome, the Cornelian-Tree in Blossome, Sweet-Briar. In *April* follow, the double White Violet, the Wall-Flower, the Stock Gilly-Flower, the Cowslip, Flower-de-Lices, and Lillies of all Natures, Rosemary-Flowers, the Tulippa, the Double Piony, the Pale Daffadil, the French-Hony-Suckle, the Cherry-Tree in Blossome, the Dammasin and Plum-Trees in Blossome, the White-Thorn in Leaf, the Lelack-Tree. In *May* and *June* comes Pincks of all sorts, specially the Bluth Pinck, Roses of all kinds, except the Musk, which comes later, Hony-Suckles, Strawberies, Bugloss, Columbine, the French Marygold, Flos Africanus, Cherry-Tree in Fruit, Ribes, Figs in Fruit,

Raſps, Vine-Flowers, Lavender in Flowers, the Sweet-Satyrian with the White Flower, Herba Muſcaria, Lilium Convallium, the Apple-Tree in Bloſſome. In *July* come Gilly-Flowers of all Varieties, Musk-Roſes, the Lime-Tree in Bloſſome, Early Pears and Plums in Fruit, Ginnitings, Quadlings. In *August* come Plums of all ſorts in Fruit, Pears, Apricocks, Barberies, Filbeards, Musk Melons, Monks-Hoods of all Colours. In *September* comes Grapes, Apples, Poppeis of all Colours, Peaches, Melo-Cotones, Nectarines, Cornelians, Wardens, Quinces. In *October*, and the beginning of *November*, come Services, Medlars, Bulliſes, Roſes Cut or Removed to come late, Hollyokes, and ſuch like. These particulars are for the *Climate* of *London*: But my meaning is perceived, that you may have *Ver Perpetuum*, as the place affords.

And becauſe the *Breath* of Flowers is farr Sweeter in the Air, (where it comes and goes, like the Warbling of Muſick) than in the Hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that Delight, than to know what be the *Flowers* and *Plants* that do beſt perfume the Air. Roſes Damask and Red are Flowers of their Smells, ſo that you may walk by a whole Row of them, and find nothing of their Sweet-

Sweetneſs; yea, though it be in a Mornings Dew. Bayes likewiſe yield no Smell as they grow, Roſemary little, nor Sweet-Marjoram. That which above all others yields the *Sweeteſt Smell* in the *Air*, is the Violet, ſpecially the White double Violet, which comes twice a year, about the middle of *April*, and about *Bartholomew-tide*. Next to that is the Musk-Roſe, then the Strawbery Leaves dying with a moſt excellent Cordial Smell. Then the Flower of the Vines, it is a little Duſt, like the Duſt of a Bent, which grows upon the Cluſter in the firſt coming forth. Then Sweet-Briar, then Wall-Flowers, which are very delightful to be ſet under a Parlour, or lower Chamber-Window. Then Pincks and Gilly-Flowers, ſpecially the matted Pinck, and Clove Gilly-Flower. Then the Flowers of the Lime-Tree. Then the Honey-Suckles, ſo they be ſomewhat a farr off. Of Bean-Flowers I ſpeak not, becauſe they are Field-Flowers. But thoſe which *perfume* the Air moſt delightfully, not *paſſed by* as the reſt, but being *Trodden upon* and *Cruſhed*, are three, that is, Burnet, Wild-Time, and Water-Mints. Therefore you are to ſet whole Alleys of them, to have the Pleaſure when you walk or tread.

For

For *Gardens*, (speaking of those which are indeed *Prince-like*, as we have done of *Buildings*) the Contents ought not well to be under *Thirty Acres of Ground*, and to be divided into three parts, a *Green* in the entrance, a *Heath* or *Desart* in the going forth, and the *Main Garden* in the midst, besides *Alleys* on both Sides. And I like well, that four Acres of Ground be assigned to the *Green*, six to the *Heath*, four and four to either *Side*, and twelve to the *Main Garden*. The *Green* hath two pleasures; the one, because nothing is more pleasant to the Eye than green Grass kept finely shorn; the other, because it will give you a fair Alley in the midst, by which you may goe in front upon a *Stately Hedge*, which is to enclose the *Garden*. But because the Alley will be long, and in great Heat of the Year or Day, you ought not to buy the shade in the *Garden*, by going in the Sun through the *Green*; therefore you are of either *Side* the *Green* to plant a *Covert Alley* upon Carpenters Work, about twelve foot in Height, by which you may goe in shade into the *Garden*. As for the making of *Knots* or *Figures*, with *Divers Coloured Earths*, that they may lye under the Windowes of the House, on that Side which the *Garden* stands, they be but toyes,

you

you may see as good sights many times in Tarts. The *Garden* is best to be square, encompassed on all the four Sides with a *Stately Arched Hedge*: the *Arches* to be upon *Pillars* of Carpenters Work, of some ten foot high, and six foot broad, and the *Spaces* between of the same Dimension with the *Breadth* of the *Arch*. Over the *Arches* let there be an *Entire Hedge* of some four foot high, framed also upon Carpenters Work; and upon the *Upper Hedge*, over every *Arch*, a little *Turret*, with a *Bell*, enough to receive a *Cage* of *Birds*; and over every *Space* between the *Arches* some other little *Figure*, with broad Plates of *Round Coloured Glass* gilt, for the *Sun* to play upon. But this *Hedge* I intend to be raised upon a *Bank*, not steep, but gently slope, of some six foot, set all with *Flowers*. Also I understand, that this *Square* of the *Garden*, should not be the whole breadth of the Ground, but to leave on either Side Ground enough for diversity of *Side Alleys*, unto which the two *Covert Alleys* of the *Green* may deliver you; but there must be no *Alleys* with *Hedges* at either end of this great *Enclosure*: not at the *Higher End*, for letting your prospect upon this fair Hedge from the *Green*; nor at the *Further End*, for letting your prospect from

the

the Hedge through the *Arches* upon the *Heath*.

For the ordering of the Ground within the *Great Hedge*, I leave it to Variety of Device, Advising nevertheless, that whatsoever form you cast it into, first it be not too busie, or full of Work; wherein I, for my part, do not like *Images cut out* in *Juniper*, or other *Garden-stuffe*, they be for Children. *Little low Hedges*, Round like Welts, with some pretty *Pyramids*, I like well: And in some places *Fair Columns* upon Frames of Carpenters Work. I would also have the *Alleys* spacious and fair. You may have *Closer Alleys* upon the *Side Grounds*, but none in the *Main Garden*. I wish also in the very middle a *Fair Mount*, with three Ascents and Alleys, enough for four to walk abreast, which I would have to be perfect Circles, without any Bulwarks or Imboſments, and the *Whole Mount* to be thirty foot high, and some fine *Banqueting-House*, with some *Chimneys* neatly cast, and without too much *Glass*.

For *Fountains*, they are a great Beauty and Refreshment; but *Pools* marr all, and make the *Garden* unwholesome, and full of Flies and Frogs. *Fountains* I intend to be of two Natures, the one that *Sprinkleth* or *Spouteth Water*, the other a *Fair Receipt* of

Water,

Water, of some thirty or fourty foot square, but without Fish, or slime, or mudd. For the first, the *Ornaments* of *Images Gilt*, or of *Marble*, which are in use, do well; but the main matter is, so to convey the Water, as it never stay, either in the Bowls, or in the Cistern, that the Water be never by Rest *Discoloured*, *Green* or *Red*, or the like; Or gather any *Mossiness* or *Putrefaction*. Besides that, it is to be cleansed every day by the Hand; Also some *Steps* up to it, and some *Fine Pavement* about it; doth well. As for the other kind of *Fountain*, which we may call a *Bathing-Pool*, it may admit much Curiosity and Beauty, wherewith we will not trouble our selves, as that the bottom be finely paved, and with Images: the sides likewise, and withall Embellished with coloured Glass, and such things of Lustre; Encompassed also with fine Railes of low Statua's. But the main point is the same, which we mentioned in the former kind of *Fountain*, which is, that the *Water* be in *Perpetual Motion*, Fed by a Water higher than the *Pool*, and delivered into it by fair Spouts, and then discharged away under Ground by some Equality of Bores, that it stay little. And for fine Devices of Arching Water without spilling, and making it rise in several Forms

Forms (of Feathers, Drinking-Glasses, Canopies, and the like,) they be pretty things to look on, but nothing to Health and Sweetness.

For the *Heath*, which was the third part of our Plot, I wish it to be framed, as much as may be, to a *Natural Wildness*. Trees I would have none in it, but some *Thickets* made only of *Sweet-Briar*, and *Honey-Suckle*, and some *Wild-Vine* amongst, and the Ground set with *Violets*, *Strawberries*, and *Primroses*: for these are sweet, and prosper in the Shade. And these to be in the *Heath*, here and there, not in any order. I like also little *Heaps*, in the Nature of *Mole-Hills*, (such as are in *Wild-Heaths*) to be set, some with Wild Thyme, some with Pinks, some with Germander, that gives a good flower to the Eye; some with Periwinckle, some with Violets, some with Strawberies, some with Cowslips, some with Daisies, some with Red-Roses, some with Lilium Convallium, some with Sweet-Williams Red, some with Bears-foot, and the like Low-flowers, being withall Sweet and Sightly. Part of which *Heaps*, to be with *Standards* of little *Bushes*, prickt upon their top, and part without; the *Standards* to be Roses, Juniper, Holly, Bear-berries (but

here

here and there, because of the smell of their blossome) Red-Currans, Gooseberries, Rosemary, Bayes, Sweet-Briar, and such like. But these *Standards* to be kept with Cutting, that they grow not out of Course.

For the *Side Grounds*, you are to fit them with *Variety* of *Alleys*, Private, to give a full Shade, some of them, wheresoever the Sun be. You are to frame some of them likewise for shelter, that when the Wind blows sharp, you may walk as in a Gallery. And those Alleys must be likewise hedged at both ends, to keep out the Wind, and these *Closer Alleys* must be ever finely Gravelled, and no Grass, because of going wet. In many of these *Alleys* likewise, you are to set *Fruit-Trees* of all Sorts; as well upon the Walls, as in Ranges. And this would be generally observed, that the *Borders* wherein you plant your *Fruit-Trees*, be Fair, and Large, and Low, and not Steep, and set with *Fine Flowers*, but thin and sparingly, lest they deceive the *Trees*. At the End of both the *Side Grounds*, I would have a *Mount* of some pretty Height, leaving the Wall of the Enclosure breast high, to look abroad into the fields.

For the *Main Garden*, I do not deny, but there should be some fair *Alleys*, ranged on both

both Sides with *Fruit-Trees*, and some pretty *Tufts* of *Fruit-Trees*, and *Arbours* with *Seats*, set in some decent Order; but these to be by no means set too thick, but to leave the *Main Garden* so, as it be not close, but the Air open and free; for as for *Shade*, I would have you rest upon the *Alleys* of the *Side Grounds*, there to walk, if you be disposed, in the Heat of the Year or Day: but to make account, that the *Main Garden* is for the more Temperate Parts of the Year, and in the Heat of Summer, for the Morning, and the Evening, or Overcast Dayes.

For *Aviaries*, I like them not, except they be of that Largeness, as they may be *Turfed*, and have *Living Plants* and *Bushes* set in them, that the *Birds* may have more scope, and natural Nestling, and that no *Fouleness* appear in the *Floar* of the *Aviary*. So I have made a Plat-form of a *Princely Garden*, partly by Precept, partly by Drawing, not a Model, but some general Lines of it, and in this I have spared for no Cost. But it is nothing, for *Great Princes*, that for the most part taking Advice with Workmen, with no less Cost, set their things together, and sometimes add *Statua's*, and such things, for State and Magnificence, but nothing to the true pleasure of a *Garden*.

Of

Of Negotiating.

XLVII.

IT is generally better to *deal* by Speech, than by Letter; and by the mediation of a Third, than by a mans Self. Letters are good, when a man would draw an Answer by Letter back again; or when it may serve for a mans Justification afterwards to produce his own Letter, or where it may be Danger to be interrupted or heard by pieces. To *Deal in Person* is good, when a mans face breedeth Regard, as commonly with Inferiours; or in tender Cases, where a mans Eye, upon the Countenance of him with whom he speaketh, may give him a Direction how far to go: And generally where a man will reserve to himself liberty either to Disavow, or to Expound. In choice of *Instruments*, it is better to choose men of a Plainer Sort, that are like to do that that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the success, than those that are Cunning to contrive out of other mens Business somewhat to grace themselves, and will help the matter in Report for Satisfaction sake. Use also

such

ſuch Perſons as affect the buſineſs wherein they are imployed, for that quickneth much; and ſuch as are fit for the matter: As bold men for Expoſtulation, fair ſpoken men for Perſwaſion, crafty men for Enquiry and Obſervation, froward and abſurd men for buſineſs that doth not well bear out it ſelf. Uſe alſo ſuch as have been lucky, and prevailed before in things wherein you have employed them, for that breeds Confidence, and they will ſtrive to maintain their Preſcription. It is better to ſound a Perſon with whom one *Deals* a far off, than to fall upon the point at firſt; except you mean to ſurprize him by ſome ſhort Queſtion. It is better *Dealing* with men in Appetite, than with thoſe that are where they would be. If a man *Deal* with another upon Conditions, the Start of firſt Performance is all, which a man cannot reaſonably Demand, except either the nature of the thing be ſuch which muſt go before; or elſe a man can perſwade the other Party that he ſhall ſtill need him in ſome other thing; or elſe that he be counted the honeſter man. All Practice is to *Diſcover*, or to *Work*: Men *Diſcover* themſelves in Truſt, in Paſſion, at unawares, and of neceſſity, when they would have ſomewhat done, and cannot find an apt Pretext. If you would

Work

Work any man, you muſt either know his nature and faſhions, and ſo lead him; or his Ends, and ſo perſwade him; or his Weakneſs and Diſadvantages, and ſo awe him; or thoſe that have Intereſt in him, and ſo govern him. In *Dealing* with cunning Perſons we muſt ever conſider their Ends to interpret their Speeches; and it is good to ſay little to them, and that which they leaſt look for. In all *Negotiations* of Difficulty a man may not look to ſow and reap at once, but muſt prepare buſineſs, and ſo ripen it by Degrees.

Of Followers and Friends.

XLVIII.

COſtly *Followers* are not to be liked, leſt while a man maketh his Train longer, he make his Wings ſhorter. I reckon to be coſtly not them alone which charge the Purſe, but which are Wearieſome and Importune in Suits. Ordinary *Followers* ought to challenge no higher Conditions than Countenance, Recommendation, and Protection from Wrongs. Factious *Followers* are worſe

to

to be liked, which follow not upon Affection to him with whom they range themselves, but upon Discontentment conceived against some other; whereupon commonly ensueth, that ill Intelligence, that we many times see between great Personages. Likewise glorious *Followers* who make themselves as Trumpets of Commendation of those they follow, are full of inconvenience; for they taint business through want of Secrecy, and they export Honour from a man, and make him a return in Envy. There is a kind of *Followers* likewise which are dangerous, being indeed Espials, which enquire the secrets of the House, and bear Tales of them to others; yet such men, many times, are in great favour; for they are officious, and commonly exchange Tales. The *Following* by certain *Estates* of men, answerable to that which a great Person himself professeth, (as of Souldiers to him that hath been employed in the Wars, and the like) hath ever been a thing Civil, and well taken even in Monarchies; so it be without too much pomp of popularity. But the most Honorable kind of *Following* is to be followed, as one that apprehendeth to advance Vertue and Desert in all sorts of Persons. And yet where there is no eminent Odds in Sufficiency, it is better

to take with the more Paſſable, than with the more Able. And beſides, to ſpeak Truth, in baſe times Active men are of more uſe than Vertuous. It is true, that in Government it is good to uſe men of one Ranck equally; for to countenance ſome extraordinarily, is to make them inſolent, and the reſt diſcontent, becauſe they may claim a Due. But contrariwiſe, in favour to uſe men with much Difference and Election, is good; for it maketh the Perſons preferred more thankfull, and the reſt more officious, becauſe all is of favour. It is good Diſcretion not to make too much of any man at the firſt, becauſe one cannot hold out that proportion. To be governed (as we call it) by one, is not ſafe; for it ſhews Softneſs, and gives a freedom to Scandal and Diſreputation; for thoſe that would not cenſure or ſpeak ill of a man immediately, will talk more boldly of thoſe that are ſo great with them, and thereby wound their Honour, yet to be diſtracted with many is worſe; for it makes men to be of the laſt Impreſſion, and full of Change. To take Advice of ſome few *Friends* is ever Honorable; *For Lookers on, many times, ſee more than Gameſters, and the Vale beſt diſcovereth the Hill.* There is little Friendſhip in the World, and leaſt of all between Equals, which

which was wont to be magnified. That that is, is between Superiour and Inferiour, whose Fortunes may comprehend the one the other.

Of Suitours.

XLIX.

MAny ill matters and projects are undertaken, and private *Suits* do putrifie the publick Good. Many good matters are undertaken with bad minds; I mean not onely corrupt minds, but crafty minds that intend not Performance. Some embrace *Suits* which never mean to deal effectually in them; but if they see there may be use in the matter by some other mean, they will be content to win a Thank, or take a second Reward, or at least to make use in the mean time of the *Suitours* Hopes. Some take hold of *Suits* onely for an Occasion to cross some other; or to make an Information, whereof they could not otherwise have apt Pretext, without care what become of the *Suit* when that Turn is served; or generally, to make other mens business a kind of Entertainment to bring in their own. Nay, some undertake

Suits with a full purpose to let them fall, to the end, to gratifie the adverse Party or Competitour. Surely there is in some sort a Right in every *Suit*; either a Right of Equity, if it be a *Suit* of Controversie; or a Right of Desert, if it be a *Suit* of Petition. If Affection lead a man to favour the Wrong Side in Justice, let him rather use his Countenance to compound the Matter, than to carry it. If Affection lead a man to favour the less Worthy in Desert, let him do it without Depraving or Disabling the better Deserver. In *Suits* which a man doth not well understand, it is good to referr them to some Friend of Trust and Judgement, that may report, whether he may deal in them with Honour; but let him choose well his Referendaries, for else he may be led by the Nose. *Suitours* are so distasted with Delayes and Abuses, that plain dealing in denying to deal in *Suits* at first, and reporting the success barely, and in Challenging no more Thanks than one hath deserved, is grown not only Honourable, but also Gracious. In *Suits* of Favour, the first Coming ought to take little Place; so farr forth Consideration may be had of his trust, that if Intelligence of the Matter, could not otherwise have been had, but by him, Advantage be not taken

of the Note, but the Party left to his other means, and in some sort Recompenced for his Discovery. To be ignorant of the value of a *Suit* is Simplicity; as well as to be Ignorant of the Right thereof, is want of Conscience. Secrecy in *Suits* is a great mean of Obtaining; for voycing them to be in forwardness, may discourage some kind of *Suitours*, but doth Quicken and Awake Others; but Timing of the *Suit* is the Principal. Timing, I say, not only in respect of the Person that should grant it, but in respect of those which are like to Cross it. Let a man in the choice of his mean, rather choose the Fittest mean, than the Greatest mean; and rather them that deal in certain Things, than those that are General. The Reparation of a Denial, is sometimes Equal to the first Grant; if a man shew himself, neither dejected, nor discontented: *Iniquum petas, ut Æquum feras*; is a good rule, where a man hath strength of Favour: But otherwise a man were better rise in his *Suit*; for he that would have ventured at first to have lost the *Suitour*, will not in the Conclusion lose both the *Suitour*, and his own former favour. Nothing is thought so easie a requeſt to a great Person, as his Letter; and yet, if it be not in a good Cause, it is so much out of

his Reputation. There are no worse Instruments than these general Contrivers of *Suits*; for they are but a kind of poyson and infection to publick Proceedings.

Of Studies.

L.

Studies serve for Delight, for Ornament, and for Ability. Their chief use for Delight, is in Privateness and Retiring; for Ornament, is in Discourse; and for Ability, is in the Judgement and Disposition of Business. For expert men can execute, and perhaps judge of particulars one by one; but the general Counsels, and the Plots, and Marshalling of Affairs, come best from those that are *Learned*. To spend too much time in *Studies*, is Sloth; to use them too much for Ornament, is Affectation; to make Judgement wholly by their Rules, is the Humour of a Scholar. They perfect Nature, and are perfected by Experience; for Natural Abilities are like Natural Plants, that need Proyning by *Study*. and *Studies* themselves do give forth Directions too much at large,

except they be bounded in by experience. Crafty men contemn *Studies*, Simple men admire them, and Wiſe men uſe them: for they teach not their own uſe, but that is a Wiſdom without them, and above them won by Obſervation. Read not to Contradict and Confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find Talk and Diſcourſe, but to weigh and conſider. Some *Books* are to be taſted, others to be ſwallowed, and ſome few to be chewed and digeſted; that is, ſome *Books* are to be read only in parts; others to be read, but not curiouſly; and ſome few to be read wholly, and with Diligence and Attention. Some *Books* alſo may be read by Deputy, and Extracts made of them by others: but that would be only in the leſs important Arguments, and the meaner Sort of *Books*, elſe diſtilled *Books* are like common diſtilled Waters, flaſhly things. Reading maketh a Full man; Conference a Ready man; and Writing an Exact man. And therefore if a man Write little, he had need have a great Memory; if he Confer little, he had need have a preſent Wit; and if he Read little, he had need have much Cunning to ſeem to know that he doth not. *Hiſtories* make men Wiſe, *Poets* Witty, the *Mathematicks* Subtil, *Natural Philoſophy* Deep,

Deep, *Moral* Grave, *Logick* and *Rhetorick* able to Contend. *Abeunt Studia in Mores*; Nay, there is no Stond or Impediment in the Wit, but may be wrought out by fit *Studies*: like as Diseases of the Body may have appropriate Exercises. Bowling is good for the Stone and Reins, Shooting for the Lungs and Breast, Gentle Walking for the Stomack, Riding for the Head, and the like. So if a mans Wit be Wandring, let him *Study* the *Mathematicks*; for in Demonstrations, if his Wit be called away never so little, he must begin again: If his Wit be not apt to distinguish or find differences, let him *Study* the *Schoolmen*; for they are *Cymini sectores*. If he be not apt to beat over Matters, and to call up one thing to prove and illustrate another, let him *Study* the *Lawyer's Cases*; so every Defect of the Mind may have a special Receipt.

Of Faction.

LI.

MAny have an Opinion not wise; That for a Prince to govern his Estate, or for a great Person to govern his Proceedings,

according to the respect of *Factions*, is a principal part of Policy; whereas contrariwise, the chiefest Wisdome is, either in ordering those things which are General, and wherein men of several *Factions* do nevertheless agree; or in dealing with correspondence to particular persons one by one. But I say not, that the consideration of *Factions* is to be neglected. Mean men in their Rising must adhere, but great men that have strength in themselves, were better to maintain themselves Indifferent and Neutral: Yet even in beginners to adhere so moderately, as he be a man of the one *Faction*, which is most passable with the other, commonly giveth best way. The Lower and Weaker *Faction* is the firmer in Conjunction: And it is often seen, that a few that are Stiffe, do tire out a greater number that are more Moderate. When one of the *Factions* is Extinguished, the remaining Sub-divideth: As the *Faction* between *Lucullus*, and the rest of the Nobles of the Senate (which they called *Optimates*) held out a while against the *Faction* of *Pompey* and *Caesar*; but when the Senates Authority was pulled down, *Caesar* and *Pompey* soon after brake. The *Faction* or Party of *Antonius*, and *Octavianus Caesar*, against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, held out likewise for a time:

But

But when *Brutus* and *Cassius* were overthrown, then soon after *Antonius* and *Octavianus* brake and sub-divided. These Examples are of Wars, but the same holdeth in private *Factions*: And therefore those that are Seconds in *Factions*, do many times, when the *Faction* sub-divideth, prove Principals; but many times also they prove Cyphers and Casheer'd. For many a mans Strength is in opposition; and when that faileth, he groweth out of use. It is commonly seen, that men once placed, take in with the contrary *Faction* to that, by which they enter, thinking be-like that they have the first Sure, and now are ready for a new Purchase. The Traytour in *Faction* lightly goeth away with it: for when Matters have stuck long in Ballancing, the winning of some one man casteth them, and he getteth all the Thanks. The even Carriage between two *Factions* proceedeth not alwayes of Moderation, but of a Trueness to a mans self, with end to make use of both. Certainly in *Italy*, they hold it a little suspect in *Popes*, when they have often in their mouth *Padre commune*, and take it to be a Sign of one that meaneth to referr all to the greatness of his own House. Kings had need beware, how they side themselves, and make themselves as of a *Faction* or

Party: for Leagues within the State are ever pernicious to Monarchies; for they raise an Obligation, Paramount to Obligation of Soveraignty, and make the King, *Tanquam unus ex nobis*; as was to be seen in the *League* of *France*. When *Factions* are carried too high, and too violently, it is a sign of Weakness in Princes, and much to the prejudice both of their Authority and Business. The motions of *Factions* under Kings, ought to be like the motions (as the *Astronomers* speak) of the Inferiour Orbs, which may have their proper motions, but yet still are quietly carried by the Higher motion of *Primum Mobile*.

Of Ceremonies and Respects.

LII.

HE that is only Real, had need have exceeding great parts of Vertue; as the Stone had need to be Rich, that is set without a foil. But if a man mark it well, it is in praise and commendation of Men, as it is in Gettings and Gains: For the Proverb is true, *That light Gains makes heavy Purses*; for

for light Gains come thick, whereas great come but now and then. So it is true, that small Matters winn great Commendation, because they are continually in use, and in note; whereas the occasion of any great Vertue cometh but on Festivals. Therefore it doth much add to a mans Reputation, and is, (as Queen *Isabella* said) *Like perpetual Letters Commendatory*, to have good *Forms*: To attain them, it almost sufficeth not to despise them; for so shall a man observe them in others: And let him trust himself with the rest. For if he labour too much to express them, he shall lose their Grace, which is to be Natural and Unaffected. Some mens Behaviour is like a Verse, wherein every Syllable is measured. How can a man comprehend great Matters, that breaketh his mind too much to small Observations? Not to use *Ceremonies* at all, is to teach others not to use them again; and so diminisheth *Respect* to himself: Especially, they be not to be omitted to Strangers, and formal Natures: But the Dwelling upon them, and Exalting them above the Moon, is not only tedious, but doth diminish the Faith and Credit of him that speaks. And certainly, there is a kind of conveying of Effectual and Imprinting Passions amongst Complements, which is

of singular use, if a man can hit upon it. Amongst a mans Peers, a man shall be sure of Familiarity; and therefore it is good a little to keep State. Amongst a mans Inferiours, one shall be sure of Reverence; and therefore it is good a little to be familiar. He that is too much in any thing, so that he giveth another occasion of Society, maketh himself cheap. To apply ones self to others is good, so it be with Demonstration, that a man doth it upon Regard, and not upon Facility. It is a good Precept generally in Seconding another, yet to add somewhat of ones own: As if you would grant his Opinion, let it be with some Distinction; if you will follow his Motion, let it be with Condition; if you allow his Counsel, let it be with alleaging further Reason. Men had need beware, how they be too perfect in Complements: for be they never so sufficient otherwise, their Envyers will be sure to give them that Attribute, to the Disadvantage of their greater Vertues. It is loss also in business, to be too full of *Respects*, or to be too curious in observing Times and Opportunities. *Solomon* saith, *He that considereth the Wind shall not Sowe, and he that looketh to the Clouds shall not Reap.* A Wise man will make more Opportunities than he finds.

finds. Mens Behaviour should be like their Apparel, not too Strait, or point Device, but free for Exercise or Motion.

Of Praise.

LIII.

Praise is the Reflection of Vertue; but it is as the Glass or Body which giveth the Reflection. If it be from the common People, it is commonly False and Naught, and rather followeth Vain Persons than Vertuous. For the common People understand not many excellent Vertues: The lowest Vertues draw *Praise* from them, the middle Vertues work in them Astonishment or Admiration, but of the highest Vertues they have no Sense or Perceiving at all; but Shews and *Species virtutibus similes* serve best with them. Certainly Fame is like a River, that beareth up things Light and Swoln, and drowns things Weighty and Solid: But if Persons of Quality and Judgement concurre, then it is, (as the Scripture saith) *Nomen bonum instar unguenti fragrantis.* It filleth all round about, and will not easily away: For

For the Odours of Oyntments are more durable than those of Flowers. There be so many false points of *Praise*, that a man may justly hold it a Suspect. Some *Praises* proceed meerly of Flattery; and if he be an ordinary Flatterer, he will have certain common Attributes, which may serve every man: If he be a cunning Flatterer, he will follow the Arch Flatterer, which is a mans self: And wherein a man thinketh best of himself, therein the Flatterer will uphold him most; but if he be an impudent Flatterer, look wherein a man is Conscious to himself that he is most Defective, and is most out of Countenance in himself, that will the Flatterer Entitle him to perforce, *Spretâ Conscientia*. Some *Praises* come of good Wishes and Respects, which is a form due in Civility to Kings and great Persons, *Laudando præcipere*, when by telling men what they are, they represent to them what they should be. Some men are *Praised* maliciously to their Hurt, thereby to stir Envy and Jealousie towards them, *Pessimum genus inimicorum laudantium*, insomuch as it was a Proverb amongst the *Grecians*; that *He that was praised to his Hurt should have a Push rise upon his Nose*; as we say, *That a Blister will rise upon ones Tongue that tells a Lye*. Certainly

tainly moderate *Praise*, used with Opportunity, and not Vulgar, is that which doth the good. *Solomon* saith, *He that praiseth his Friend aloud, Rising Early, it shall be to him no better than a Curse.* Too much magnifying of Man or Matter, doth irritate Contradiction, and procure Envy and Scorn. To *Praise* a mans self cannot be Decent, except it be in rare Cases: But to *Praise* a mans Office or Profession, he may do it with good Grace, and with a kind of Magnanimity. The *Cardinals of Rome*, which are Theologues, and Fryars, and School-men, have a Phrase of notable Contempt and Scorn towards Civil business: For they call all Temporal business, of Wars, Embassages, Judicature, and other Employments, *Shirrerie*, which is *Under-Sheriffries*, as if they were but Matters for Under-Sheriffs and Catchpoles; though many times those *Under-Sheriffries* do more good than their High Speculations. Saint *Paul*, when he boasts of himself, he doth oft interlace; *I speak like a Fool*; but speaking of his Calling, he saith, *Magnificabo Apostolatum meum.*

Of

Of Vain-Glory.

LIV.

IT was prettily devised of *Æsop*, *The Fly sate upon the Axle-Tree of the Chariot-Wheel, and said, What a Dust do I raise?* So are there some *Vain Persons*, that whatsoever goeth along, or moveth upon greater Means, if they have never so little Hand in it, they think it is they that carry it. They that are *Glorious*, must needs be *Factious*; for all Bravery stands upon Comparisons. They must needs be *Violent*, to make good their own Vaunts. Neither can they be *Secret*, and therefore not Effectual; but according to the *French* Proverb, *Beaucoup de Bruit, peu de Fruit*, *Much Bruit, little Fruit*. Yet certainly there is use of this Quality in Civil Affairs. Where there is an Opinion and Fame to be created, either of Vertue or Greatness, these men are good Trumpeters. Again, as *Titus Livius* noteth in the Case of *Antiochus*, and the *Ætolians*, *There are sometimes great Effects of Cross Lies*: As if a man that Negotiates between two Princes, to draw them to joyn in a War against the third,

third, doth extol the Forces of either of them above measure the one to the other: And sometimes he that deals between Man and Man, raiseth his own Credit with both, by pretending greater Interest than he hath in either. And in these and the like Kinds it often falls out, that *Somewhat* is produced of *Nothing*: For Lies are sufficient to breed Opinion, and Opinion brings on Substance. In Military Commanders and Souldiers, *Vain-Glory* is an Essential Point: For as Iron sharpens Iron, so by *Glory* one Courage sharpneth another. In Cases of great Enterprise, upon Charge and Adventure, a Composition of *Glorious* Natures doth put life into Business; and those that are of Solid and Sober Natures have more of the Ballast than of the Sail. In Fame of Learning the Flight will be slow, without some Feathers of *Ostentation*. *Qui de contemnendâ Gloriâ Libros scribunt, Nomen suum inscribunt. Socrates, Aristotle, Galen* were men full of *Ostentation*. Certainly *Vain-Glory* helpeth to perpetuate a mans memory; and Vertue was never so beholding to Humane Nature, as it received his due at the Second Hand. Neither had the Fame of *Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus* born her Age so well, if it had not been joyned with some *Vanity*

in

in themselves; like unto Varnish, that makes Seelings not onely Shine, but Last. But all this while, when I speak of *Vain-Glory*, I mean not of that property that *Taeitus* doth attribute to *Mucianus*, *Omnium quæ dixerat, fecerat que, Arte quadam Ostentator*: For that proceeds not of *Vanity*, but of Natural Magnanimity and Discretion: And in some Persons is not onely Comely, but Gracious. For Excusations, Cessions, Modesty it self well Governed, are but Arts of *Ostentation*. And amongst those Arts, there is none better than that which *Plinius Secundus* speaketh of, which is to be liberal of Praise and Commendation to others, in that wherein a man's self hath any Perfection. For, saith *Pliny* very wittily, *In commending another you do your self Right; For he that you commend is either Superiour to you in that you commend, or Inferiour. If he be Inferiour, if he be to be commended, you much more; If he be Superiour, if he be not to be commended, you much less Glorious.* Men are the Scorn of Wise Men, the Admiration of Fools, the Idols of Parasites, and the Slaves of their own Vaunts.

Of

Of Honour and Reputation.

LV.

THe Winning of *Honour* is but the Revealing of a Mans Vertue and Worth without Disadvantage. For some in their Actions do Wooe and Affect *Honour* and *Reputation*; which sort of men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly little admired. And some, contrariwise, darken their Vertue in the shew of it, so as they be undervalued in Opinion. If a man perform that which hath not been attempted before, or attempted and given over, or hath been atchieved, but not with so good Circumstance, he shall purchase more *Honour*, than by effecting a matter of greater Difficulty or Vertue, wherein he is but a follower. If a man so temper his Actions, as in some one of them he doth content every Faction or Combination of People, the Musick will be the fuller. A man is an ill Husband of his *Honour* that entreth into any Action, the Failing wherein may disgrace him more, than the carrying of it through can *Honour* him. *Honour* that is gained and broken upon another,

another, hath the quickest Reflection; like Diamonds cut with Faseets. And therefore let a man contend to excell any Competitors of his in *Honour*, in Out-shooting them, if he can, in their own Bow. Discreet Followers and Servants help much to *Reputation*: *Omnis Fama à Domesticis emanat.* Envy, which is the Canker of *Honour*, is best extinguished by declaring a mans self in his Ends, rather to seek Merit than Fame; and by attributing a mans Successes rather to Divine Providence and Felicity, than to his own Vertue or Policy. The true marshalling of the Degrees of *Soveraign Honour* are these: In the first Place are *Conditores Imperiorum, Founders of States* and *Common-wealths*; such as were *Romulus, Cyrus, Cæsar, Ottoman, Ismael.* In the second Place are *Legis-latoris, Law-givers*; which are also called *second Founders*, or *Perpetui Principes*, because they govern by their Ordinances after they are gone; such were *Lycurgus, Solon, Justinian, Edgar, Alphonsus of Castile* the Wise, that made the *Siete Patridas.* In the third Place are *Liberatores*, or *Salvatores*; such as compound the long miseries of Civil Wars, or deliver their Countries from Servitude of Strangers or Tyrants; as *Augustus Cæsar, Vespasianus, Aurelianus, Theodoricus,*

King

King *Henry* the 7. of *England*, King *Henry* the 4. of *France*. In the fourth Place are *Propagatores*, or *Propugnatores Imperii*; such as in Honorable Wars enlarge their Territories, or make noble defence against Invaders. And in the last Place are *Patres Patriæ*, which Reign justly, and make the times good wherein they live. Both which last Kinds need no Examples, they are in such Number. Degrees of *Honour* in Subjects are; First, *Participes Curarum*, those upon whom Princes do discharge the greatest Weight of their Affairs, their *Right Hands* as we call them. The next are *Duces Belli*, *great Leaders*, such as are Princes Lieutenants, and do them notable Services in the Wars. The third are *Gratiosi*, *Favourites*, such as need not this scantling, to be Solace to the Sovereign, and Harmless to the People. And the fourth *Negotiis Pares*, such as have great Places under Princes, and execute their Places with Sufficiency. There is an *Honour* likewise which may be ranked amongst the Greatest, which happeneth rarely, that is, of such as *sacrifice themselves* to *Death* or *Danger* for the *Good* of *their Country*; as was *M. Regulus*, and the two *Decii*.

Of

Of Judicature.

LVI.

Judges ought to remember, that their Office is *Jus dicere*, and not *Jus dare*: *To Interpret Law*, and not to *Make Law*, or *Give Law*. Else will it be like the Authority claimed by the *Church of Rome*, which under pretext of Exposition of Scripture, doth not stick to Adde and Alter, and to pronounce that which they do not find; and by *Shew* of *Antiquity* to introduce *Novelty*. *Judges* ought to be more Learned than Witty, more Reverend than Plausible, and more Advised than Confident. Above all things Integrity is their Portion and proper Vertue: *Cursed* (saith the Law) *is he that removeth the Land-mark*. The Misslayer of a *Meer Stone* is to blame; but it is the Unjust *Judge* that is the Capital Remover of Land-marks, when he defineth amiss of Lands and Property. One foul Sentence doth more hurt than many foul Examples; for these do but corrupt the Stream, the other corrupteth the Fountain. So saith *Solomon*, *Fons turbatus, & Vena corrupta, est Justus cadens in*

causa

causa sua coram Adversario. The Office of *Judges* may have reference unto the *Parties that sue*, unto the *Advocates that plead*, unto the *Clerks* and *Ministers of Justice* underneath them, and to the *Sovereign* or *State* above them.

First, For the *Causes* or *Parties that sue*. *There be* (saith the Scripture) *that turn Judgement into Wormwood*. And surely there be also that turn it into *Vinegar*; for Injustice maketh it bitter, and Delayes make it sour. The principal Duty of a *Judge* is to suppress force and fraud, whereof force is the more pernicious when it is Open, and fraud when it is Close and Disguised. Add thereto Contentious Suits, which ought to be spewed out as the Surfet of Courts. A *Judge* ought to prepare his Way to a Just Sentence, as *God* useth to prepare his Way by *Raising Valleys*, and *Taking down Hills*: So when there appeareth on either side an high Hand, violent Prosecution, cunning Advantages taken, Combination, Power, Great Counsel, then is the Vertue of a *Judge* seen, to make Inequality Equal, that he may plant his *Judgement* as upon an even Ground. *Qui fortiter emungit, elicit sanguinem*; and where the Wine-Press is hard wrought, it yields a harsh Wine that tastes of the Grape-Stone. *Judges* must

must beware of hard Constructions, and strained Inferences; for there is no worse Torture, than the Torture of Laws, specially in case of Laws penal; they ought to have care, that that which was meant for Terrour, be not turned into Rigour, and that they bring not upon the people that Shower whereof the Scripture speaketh, *Pluet super eos Laqueos*: for penal Laws pressed are a *Shower* of *Snares* upon the people. Therefore let *Penal Laws*, if they have been Sleepers of long, or if they be grown unfit for the present Time, be by wise *Judges* confined in the Execution, *Judicis Officium est, ut Res, ita Tempora Rerum*, &c. In *Causes* of *Life* and *Death*, *Judges* ought (as farr as the Law permitteth) in Justice to remember Mercy, and to cast a severe Eye upon the Example, but a merciful Eye upon the Person.

Secondly, For the *Advocates* and *Counsel* that plead: Patience and Gravity of Hearing is an Essential part of Justice, and an over-speaking *Judge* is no *well-tuned Cymbal*. It is no Grace to a *Judge*, first to find that which he might have heard in due time from the Bar, or to shew Quickness of Conceit in Cutting off Evidence or Counsel too short, or to prevent Informations by Questions though

though pertinent. The parts of a *Judge* in Hearing are four: To direct the Evidence; To moderate Length, Repetition, or Impertinency of Speech; To Recapitulate, Select, and Collate the material Points of that which hath been said; And to give the Rule or Sentence. Whatsoever is above these, is too much; and proceedeth either of Glory and Willingness to Speak, or of Impatience to Hear, or of Shortness of Memory, or of want of a Staid and Equal Attention. It is a strange thing to see, that the boldness of *Advocates* should prevail with *Judges*; whereas they should imitate *God* in whose Seat they sit, who *represseth the Presumptuous*, and *giveth Grace to the Modest*. But it is more strange, that *Judges* should have noted Favorites, which cannot but cause multiplication of Fees, and suspicion of By-wayes. There is due from the *Judge* to the *Advocate* some Commendation and Gracing, where *Causes* are well Handled, and fair Pleaded; especially towards the Side which obtaineth not: For that upholds in the *Client* the Reputation of his *Counsel*, and beat down in him the Conceit of his *Cause*. There is likewise due to the *Publick* a Civil Reprehension of *Advocates*, where there appeareth Cunning Counsel, Gross Neglect, Slight Information, Indis-

Indiscreet Pressing, or an Over-bold Defence. And let not the *Counsel* at the Bar chop with the *Judge*, nor wynd himself into the Handling of the *Cause* anew, after the *Judge* hath declared his Sentence: But on the other side, let not the *Judge* meet the *Cause* half way, nor give occasion to the Party to say, *His Counsel or Proofs were not heard.*

Thirdly, For that that concerns *Clerks* and *Ministers*. The Place of *Justice* is an Hallowed Place; and therefore not onely the Bench, but the Foot-pace, and Precincts, and Purprise thereof ought to be preserved without Scandal and Corruption. For certainly *Grapes* (as the Scripture saith) *will not be gathered of Thorns or Thistles*; neither can *Justice* yield her Fruit with Sweetness amongst the Briars and Brambles of Catching and Poling *Clerks* and *Ministers*. The Attendance of Courts is subject to four bad Instruments: First, Certain Persons that are Sowers of Suits, which make the Court Swell, and the Countrey pine. The second sort is, Of those that engage Courts in Quarrels of Jurisdiction, and are not truly *Amici Curiæ*, but *Parasiti Curiæ*, in puffing a Court up beyond her bounds, for their own Scraps and Advantage. The third sort is, Of those that

that may be accounted the Left Hands of Courts; Persons that are full of Nimble and Sinister Tricks and Shifts, whereby they pervert the plain and direct Courses of *Courts*, and bring Justice into Oblique Lines and Labyrinths. And the fourth is, The Poler and Exacter of *Fees*, which justifies the common Resemblance of the *Courts* of *Justice* to the *Bush*, whereunto while the Sheep flies for Defence in Weather, he is sure to lose part of his Fleece. On the other side, an *Ancient Clerk*, Skilful in Presidents, Wary in Proceeding, and Understanding in the *Business* of the *Court*, is an excellent Finger of a *Court*, and doth many times point the way to the *Judge* himself.

Fourthly, For that which may concern the *Sovereign* and *Estate*. *Judges* ought above all to remember the conclusion of the *Roman Twelve Tables*, *Salus Populi Suprema Rex*, and to know, That Laws, except they be in order to that end, are but Things Captious, and Oracles not well Inspired. Therefore it is an happy thing in a *State*, when *Kings* and *States* do often Consult with *Judges*; and again, when *Judges* do often Consult with the *King* and *State*: The one, when there is Matter of Law intervenient in Business of State; The other, when there is some Con-

sideration of State intervenient in Matter of Law. For many times the things deduced to *Judgement* may be *Mum* and *Tum*, when the Reason and Consequence thereof may Trench to point of Estate. I call matter of Estate not only the Parts of *Sovereignty*, but whatsoever introduceth any great Alteration, or dangerous President, or concerneth manifestly any great portion of People. And let no man weakly conceive, that Just Laws and True Policy have any *antipathy*: For they are like the Spirits and Sinews, that one moves with the other. Let *Judges* also remember, That *Solomons Throne* was supported by Lions on both sides: Let them be Lions, but yet Lions under the *Throne*; being Circumspect, that they do not Check or Oppose any Points of *Sovereignty*. Let not *Judges* also be so ignorant of their own right, as to think there is not left to them, as a Principal part of their Office, a wise Use and Application of Laws; For they may remember what the *Apostle* saith of a greater *Law* than theirs, *Nos scimus quia Lex bona est, modo quis eâ utatur Legitimè.*

Of Anger.

LVII.

TO seek to extinguish *Anger* utterly, is but a bravery of the Stoicks. We have better Oracles: *Be Angry, but Sin not. Let not the Sun go down upon your Anger.* *Anger* must be limited and confined, both in Race and Time. We will first speak, how the Natural Inclination and Habit *To be Angry*, may be attempted and calmed. Secondly, How the particular motions of *Anger* may be repressed, or at least refrained from doing mischief. Thirdly, How to raise *Anger*, or appease *Anger* in another.

For the first: There is no other way, but to Meditate and Ruminate well upon the Effects of *Anger*, how it troubles Mans Life. And the best time to do this is, To look back upon *Anger*, when the Fit is throughly over. *Seneca* saith well; *That Anger is like Ruine, which breaks it self upon that it falls.* The Scripture exhorteth us, *To possess our Souls in Patience.* Whosoever is out of *Patience*, is out of Possession of his *Soul.* Men must not turn Bees;

—— *Animasque in vulnere ponunt.*

Anger is certainly a kind of Baseneſs, as it appears well in the Weakneſs of thoſe Subjects in whom it Reigns, Children, Women, Old Folks, Sick Folks. Onely Men muſt beware, that they carry their *Anger* rather with Scorn, than with Fear: So that they may ſeem rather to be above the Injury, than below it, which is a thing eaſily done, if a Man will give Law to himſelf in it.

For the Second Point. The *Cauſes* and *Motives* of *Anger* are chiefly three: Firſt, to be too *Senſible* of *Hurt*: For no Man is *Angry* that feels not himſelf Hurt; and therefore tender and delicate Perſons muſt needs be oft *Angry*: They have ſo many things to trouble them, which more Robuſt Natures have little ſenſe of. The next is, the Apprehenſion and Conſtruction of the Injury offered, to be in the Circumſtances thereof, full of *Contempt*. For *Contempt* is that which putteth an edge upon *Anger*, as much or more than the *Hurt* it ſelf: And therefore when Men are Ingenious in picking out Circumſtances of *Contempt*, they do kindle their *Anger* much. Laſtly, Opinion of the Touch of a Mans *Reputation* doth multiply and ſharpen *Anger*: Wherein the Remedy is, that a Man ſhould have, as *Conſalus* was wont to ſay, *Telam Honoris Craſſiorem*.

But

But in all Refrainings of *Anger*, it is the best Remedy to win Time, and to make a Mans self believe that the Opportunity of his Revenge is not yet come; but that he foresees a time for it, and so to fill himself in the mean time, and reserve it.

To contain *Anger* from *Mischief*, though it take hold of a Man, there be two things, whereof you must have special Caution: The one, of extreme *Bitterness of Words*; especially if they be Aculeate and Proper: For *Communia Maledicta* are nothing so much. And again, That in *Anger* a Man reveal no Secrets; for that makes him not fit for Society. The other, That you do not *peremptorily break off* in any business in a Fit of *Anger*; but howsoever you *Shew* Bitterness, do not *Act* any thing that is not Revocable.

For *Raising* and *Appeasing Anger* in another: It is done chiefly by *Choosing* of *Times*; When Men are Frowardest and worst Disposed, to Incense them. Again, By gathering (as was touched before) all that you can find out to aggravate the *Contempt*; And the two *Remedies* are by the *Contraries*: The former, To take good Times, when first to relate to a Man an *Angry* Business: For the first Impression is

much. And the other is, To sever as much as may be the Construction of the Injury from the Point of *Contempt*; imputing it to Misunderstanding, Fear, Passion, or what you will.

Of Vicissitude of Things.

LVIII.

Solomon saith, *There is no new thing upon the Earth.* So that as *Plato* had an imagination, *That all Knowledge was but a Remembrance*; So *Solomon* giveth his Sentence, *That all Novelty is but Oblivion*: Whereby you may see, That the River of *Lethe* runneth as well above Ground, as below. There is an abstruse Astrologer that saith, *If it were not for two things that are constant, (The one is, That the Fixed Stars ever stand at like distance one from another, and never come nearer together, nor go further asunder; The other, That the Diurnal Motion perpetually keepeth Time) no Individual would last one moment.* Certain it is, That the *Matter* is in a Perpetual Flux, and never at a Stay. The great Winding-Sheets that bury all things

things in Oblivion, are two; *Deluges*, and *Earthquakes*. As for *Conflagrations* and great *Droughts*, they do not meerly Dispeople, but Destroy. *Phaetons* Carre went but a Day: And the *Three Years Drought*, in the time of *Elias*, was but particular, and left People alive. As for the great *Burnings by Lightnings*, which are often in the West Indies, they are but narrow. But in the other two Destructions, by *Deluge* and *Earthquake*, it is further to be noted, That the Remnant of People which hap to be Reserved, are commonly Ignorant and Mountainous People, that can give no Account of the Time past: So that the Oblivion is all one, as if none had been left. If you consider well of the People of the West Indies, it is very probable, that they are a Newer, or Younger People, than the People of the Old World. And it is much more likely, that the Destruction that hath heretofore been there, was not by *Earthquakes*, (as the *Egyptian* Priest told *Solon*, concerning the Island of *Atlantis*, *That it was swallowed by an Earthquake*) but rather, that it was Desolated by a particular *Deluge*: For *Earthquakes* are seldome in those Parts. But on the other side, they have such *Pouring Rivers*, as the *Rivers* of *Asia*, and *Affrick*, and *Europe*

are but Brooks to them. Their *Andes* likewise or Mountains are far higher than those with us; whereby it seems, that the Remnants of Generation of Men were in such a particular *Deluge* saved. As for the Observation that *Machiavil* hath, That the *Jealousie* of *Sects* doth much extinguish the Memory of things; traducing *Gregory* the *Great*, that he did what in him lay to extinguish all Heathen Antiquities. I do not find that those Zeals do any great Effects, nor last long; as it appeared in the Succession of *Sabinian*, who did Revive the former Antiquities.

The *Vicissitude* or *Mutations* in the *Superiour Globe*, are no fit Matter for this present Argument. It may be *Plato's Great Year*; if the World should last so long, would have some Effect; not in renewing the State of like Individuals, (for that is the Fume of those, that conceive the Celestial Bodies have more accurate Influences upon these things below, than indeed they have) but in Gross. *Comets* out of question have likewise Power and Effect over the Gross and Mass of things. But they are rather gazed upon, and waited upon in their Journey, than wisely observed in their Effects, specially in their respective Effects; that is, What kind of *Comet* for

Mag-

Magnitude, Colour, Version of the Beams, placing in the Region of Heaven, or Lasting, produceth what kind of Effects.

There is a Toy which I have heard, and I would not have it given over, but waited upon a little. They say it is observed in the *Low Countreys*, (I know not in what part) That every Five and thirty Years, the same kind and sute of Years and Weathers comes about again, as Great Frosts, Great Wet, Great Droughts, Warm Winters, Summers with little Heat, and the like; and they call it the *Prime*. It is a thing I do the rather mention, because computing backwards, I have found some Concurrence.

But to leave these points of *Nature*, and come to *Men*. The greatest *Vicissitude* of things amongst *Men* is, The *Vicissitude* of *Sects* and *Religions*: For those Orbs rule in Mens minds most. The *True Religion is built upon the Rock*, the rest are toss upon the Waves of Time. To speak therefore of the *Causes* of new *Sects*, and to give some Counsel concerning them, as far as the Weakness of Humane Judgement can give stay to so great Revolutions.

When the *Religion* formerly received, is Rent by Discords; and when the Holiness of the Professors of *Religion* is Decayed, and

full of Scandal, and withall the Times be Stupid, Ignorant, and Barbarous, you may doubt the Springing up of a *New Sect*, if then also there should arise any extravagant and strange Spirit to make himself Author thereof: All which points held, when *Mahomet* published his *Law*. If a *New Sect* have not two properties, fear it not; for it will not spread. The one is, The Supplanting or the Opposing of Authority established: For nothing is more popular than that. The other is, The giving Licence to Pleasures and Voluptuous Life. For as for *Speculative Heresies*, (such as were in Ancient Times the *Arrians*, and now the *Arminians*) though they work mightily upon Mens Wits, yet they do not produce any great alterations in States, except it be by the help of Civil Occasions. There be three manner of Plantations of *New Sects*: By the Power of *Signs* and *Miracles*, by the *Eloquence* and *Wisdome* of *Speech* and *Perswasion*, and by the *Sword*. For *Martyrdoms*, I reckon them amongst *Miracles*, because they seem to exceed the Strength of humane nature: And I may do the like of *Superlative* and *Admirable Holiness* of *Life*. Surely there is no better way to stop the Rising of *New Sects* and *Schisms*, than to reform Abuses, to compound

pound the smaller Differences, to proceed mildly, and not with Sanguinary persecutions; and rather to take off the principal Authors by winning and advancing them, than to enrage them by Violence and Bitterness.

The *Changes* and *Vicissitude* in *Wars* are many, but chiefly in three things: In the *Seats* or *Stages* of the *War*; In the *Weapons*, and in the *Manner* of the *Conduct*. *Wars* in ancient Time, seemed more to move from *East* to *West*: For the *Persians*, *Assyrians*, *Arabians*, *Tartars* (which were the Invaders) were all Eastern People. It is true, the *Gauls* were Western, but we read but of two Incursions of theirs, the one to *Galle-Gracia*, the other to *Rome*. But *East* and *West* have no certain Points of Heaven, and no more have the *Wars*, either from the *East* or *West* any certainty of Observation. But *North* and *South* are fixed, and it hath seldome or never been seen, that the far Southern People have invaded the Northern, but contrariwise. Whereby it is manifest, that the Northern *Tract* of the World is in nature the more Martial Religion; be it in respect of the Stars of that Hemisphere, or of the great Continents that are upon the *North*, whereas the *South Part*, for ought that is known, is almost all Sea; or

(which

(which is most apparent) of the Cold of the *Northern Parts*; which is that, which without Aid of Discipline doth make the bodies hardest, and the Courage warmest.

Upon the *Breaking* and *Shivering* of a great *State* and *Empire*, you may be sure to have *Wars*. For great Empires, while they stand, do enervate and destroy the forces of the Natives which they have subdued, resting upon their own Protecting forces; and then when they fail also, all goes to ruine, and they become a Prey. So was it in the decay of the *Roman Empire*; and likewise in the *Empire* of *Almaign*, after *Charles* the Great, every Bird taking a Feather; and were not unlike to befall to *Spain*, if it should break. The great *Accessions* and *Unions* of *Kingdoms* do likewise stir up *Wars*. For when a State grows to an Over-power, it is like a great flood that will be sure to overflow. As it hath been seen in the States of *Rome*, *Turkie*, *Spain*, and others. Look when the World hath fewest *Barbarous People*, but such as commonly will not marry or generate, except they know means to live; (as it is almost every where at this day, except *Tartary*) there is no danger of Inundations of People; but when there be *great Shoals* of *People*, which go on to populate without

fore-

foreseeing means of Life and Sustentation, it is of necessity that once in an Age or two they discharge a Portion of their People upon other Nations, which the ancient *Northern People* were wont to do by Lot, casting Lots what part should stay at home, and what should seek their fortunes. When a *warlike State* grows *Soft* and *Effeminate*, they may be sure of a *War*; for commonly such States are grown rich in the time of their Degenerating, and so the prey inviteth, and their decay in valour encourageth a War.

As for the *Weapons*, it hardly falleth under Rule and Observation; yet we see even they have *Returns* and *Vicissitudes*. For certain it is, that *Ordnance* was known in the City of the *Oxidrakes* in *India*; and was that which the *Macedonians* called Thunder and Lightning, and Magick. And it is well known that the use of *Ordnance* hath been in *China* above 2000 years. The Conditions of *Weapons*, and their improvement are; First, The Fetching afarr off: for that out-runs the Danger, as it is seen in *Ordnance* and *Muskets*. Secondly, The Strength of the Percussion, wherein likewise *Ordnance* do exceed all Arietations, and ancient Inventions. The Third is, The Commodious use of them; as that they may serve in all Weathers,

thers, that the Carriage may be light and manageable, and the like.

For the *Conduct* of the *War*; at the first Men rested extremely upon *Number*, they did put the *Wars* likewise upon *Main Force* and *Valour*, pointing dayes for pitched fields, and so trying it out upon an even match; and they were more ignorant in *Ranging* and *Arraying* their *Battles*. After they grew to rest upon *Number*, rather Competent than Vast, they grew to *Advantages* of *Place*, *cunning diversions*, and the like; and they grew more skilfull in the *Ordering* of their *Battles*.

In the *Youth* of a *State* Arms do flourish; in the *Middle Age* of a *State* *Learning*, and then both of them together for a time; in the *Declining Age* of a *State*, *Mechanical Arts*; and *Merchandize*. *Learning* hath his Infancy when it is but beginning, and almost Childish; then his Youth, when it is Luxuriant and Juvenile; then his Strength of Years, when it is Solid and Reduced; And lastly his *Old Age*, when it waxeth Dry and Exhaust. But it is not good to look too long upon these turning Wheels of *Vicissitude*, least we become giddy. As for the *Philology* of them, that is but a Circle of Tales, and therefore not fit for this Writing.

FINIS.

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OF

OF THE COLOURS OF GOOD and EVIL.

A Fragment.

IN Deliberatives, the Point is, what is Good, and what is Evil; and of Good what is greater, and of Evil what is leſs.

So that the Perſwaders Labour is to make things appear Good or Evil, and that in Higher or Lower Degree; which as it may be performed by True and Solid Reaſons, ſo it may be repreſented alſo by Colours, Popularities, and Circumſtances, which are of ſuch force, as they ſway the ordinary Judgement either of a weak Man, or of a wiſe Man, not fully and conſiderately attending and pondering the matter. Beſides their power to alter the nature of the Subject in appearance, and ſo to lead to Errour, they are of no leſs uſe to quicken and ſtrengthen the Opinions and Perſwaſions which are true: for Reaſons plainly delivered, and alwayes after one manner, eſpecially with Fine and Faſtidious Minds, enter but Heavily

vily and Dully; whereas if they be Varied, and have more Life and Vigour put into them by these Forms and Insinuations, they cause a stronger Apprehension, and many times suddenly Win the Mind to a Resolution. Lastly, To make a true and safe Judgement, nothing can be of greater Use and Defence to the Mind, than the Discovering and Reprehension of these Colours, shewing in what Cases they Hold, and in what they Deceive; which as it cannot be done, but out of a very universal Knowledge of the Nature of things; so being performed, it so cleareth Mans Judgement and Election, as it is the less apt to Slide into any Errour.

Capita

Capita Sectionum, quæ in *Boni Malique* Colorum Tabula continentur.

1. CUi Cætere Partes, vel Sectæ, secundas unanimiter deferunt, cum singulæ principatum sibi vindicent, Melior reliquis videtur. Nam primas quaque ex zelo videtur ferire, secundas autem ex vero & merito tribuere.

2. Cujus excellentia, vel exuperantia Melior; id toto genere Melius.

3. Quod ad Veritatem refertur, Majus est, quam quod ad Opinionem. Modus autem & probatio ejus, quod ad Opinionem pertinet, hæc est: "Quod quis, si clam putaret fore, facturus non esset.

4. Quod rem integram servat, Bonum: quod fine recepta est, Malum. Nam se recipere non posse, impotentiæ genus est; potentia autem Bonum.

5. Quod ex pluribus constat, & divisibilibus, est Majus, quam quod ex paucioribus, & Magis Unum: nam omnia, per partes considerata, majora videntur; quare & pluralitas

tas partium Magnitudinem præ se fert. Formius autem operatur pluralitas partium, si Ordo absit: nam inducit similitudinem Insimiti, & impedit comprehensionem.

6. Cujus privatio bona, Malum: cujus privatio mala, Bonum.

7. Quod Bono vicinum, Bonum: quod à Bono remotum, Malum.

8. Quod quis culpa sua contraxit, Majus Malum: quod ab externis imponitur, Minus Malum.

9. Quod opera & virtute nostra partum est, Majus Bonum: quod ab alieno beneficio, vel ab indulgentia Fortunæ, dilatum est, Minus Bonum.

10. Gradus Privationis major videtur, quam gradus Diminutionis, & rursus gradus Inceptionis major videtur, quam gradus Incrementi.

The

The Heads of the Sections of the Table of the Colours of Good and Evil, rendred into English, are as follow.

1. SInce all Parties, or Sects, challenge the preheminence of the First Place to themselves; that, to which all the rest with one consent give the Second Place, seems to be be Better than the others. For every one seems to take the First Place out of Zeal to it self, but to give the Second where it is really due.

2. That Kind is *altogether best*, whose Excellence, or Preheminence is best.

3. That, which hath a relation to *Truth*, is *Greater*, than that which referrs to *Opinion*. But the Measure, and Tryal of that, which belongs to *Opinion*, is this: "It is that, "which a Man would not do, if he thought "it would not be known.

4. That, which keeps a Matter safe and entire, is *Good*; but what is destitute and unprovided of a Retreat, is *Bad*. For, whereas all Ability of Acting is Good, not to be able to withdraw ones self, is a kind of Impotency.

5. That, which consists of more Parts, and those *Divisible*, is *Greater*, and *more One*, than what is made up of *Fewer*: For All things, when they are looked upon *piece-meal*, seem *Greater*, whence also a Plurality of Parts makes shew of a Bulk considerable. Which a Plurality of Parts effects more strongly, if they be in no certain *Order*: for it then resembles an *Infinity*, and hinders the comprehending of them.

6. That, whose Privation (*or*, the Want of which) is *Good*, is in it self *Evil*: that, whose Privation (*or*, the Want whereof) is an *Evil*, is in it self *Good*.

7. What is near to Good, is *Good*; what is at distance from Good, is *Evil*.

8. That, which a Man hath procured by his own Default, is a *Greater Mischief* (or *Evil*:) that, which is layed on him by others, is a *Lesser Evil*.

9. That, which is gotten by our own Pains and Industry, is a *Greater Good*: that, which comes by another mans Courtesie, or the Indulgence of Fortune, is a *Lesser Good*.

10. The Degree of *Privation* seems Greater, than the Degree of Diminution: And again, the Degree of *Inception* (or *Beginning*) seems Greater, than the Degree of *Increase*.

A TABLE

Of the *Colours* (or *Apparances*) of *Good* and *Evil*, and their *Degrees*, as *Places* of *Perswasion*, and *Dissuasion*, and their several *Fallaxes*, and the *Elenchs* of them.

Cui cæteræ Partes, vel Sectæ, sponte cunctis unanimiter deferunt, eum singulæ principatum sibi vindicent, Melior reliquis videtur. Nam primas quæque ex zelo videtur sumere, secundas autem ex vero & merito tribuere. That is,

Since all Parties, or Sects, challenge the Preheminence of the *First* Place to themselves; that, to which all the rest with one consent give the *Second* Place, seems to be better than the

others. For every one seems to take the *First* Place out of Zeal to it self, but to give the *Second* where it is really due.

SO *Cicero* went about to prove the Sect of *Academicks*, which suspended all *Asseveration*, for to be the *best*. "For, "saith he, ask a *Stoick*, which *Philosophy* "is true, he will preferr his own: then ask "him, which approacheth (next) the Truth, "he will confess the *Academicks*. So deal "with the *Epicure*, that will scant endure "the *Stoick* to be in sight of him. So soon as "he hath placed *himself*, he will place the "*Academick* next him."

So, if a Prince took divers Competitours to a place, and examined them severally, whom next themselves they would rarest commend; it were like the *ablest* man should have the most *second* Voices.

The *Fallax* of this *Colour* happeneth oft in respect of *Envy*: for men are accustomed, after *themselves*, and their *own Fashion*, to incline unto them, which are softest, and are *least in their way*, in despight, and derogation of them, that hold them *hardest* to it. So that this Colour of *Meliority* and *Preheminence* is a sign of Enervation and Weakness.

2. *Conjul*

2. *Cujus excellentia, vel superantia Melior, id toto genere Melius.* That is,

That Kind is *altogether Best*, whose Excellence, or Preheminence is Best.

APpertaining to this are the Forms: *Let us not wander in Generalities. Let us compare Particular With Particular*, &c. This *Apparance*, though it seem of strength, and rather *Logical* than *Rhetorical*, yet is very oft a *Fallax*.

Sometimes; because some Things are in Kind very *sensual*; which, if they escape, prove *excellent*: so that the *Kind* is inferiour, because it is so subject to peril; but that, which is excellent, being proved, is superiour. As the Blossom of *March*, and the Blossom of *May*, whereof the *French* Verse goeth;

Bourgeon de Mars enfans de Paris:
Si un eschape, ihen vant dix.

So that the Blossom of *May* is generally better than the Blossom of *March*; and yet the best Blossom of *March* is better than the best Blossom of *May*.

Sometimes; because the Nature of some *Kinds* is to be more *equal*, and more *indifferent*, and not to have very distant Degrees: as hath been noted in the *Warmer Climates*, the people are *generally* more wise; but in the *Nothern Climate*, the Wits *of chief* are greater. So in many Armies, if the Matter should be tryed by *Duel* between *two Champions*, the Victory should goe on the *one* side; and yet, if it were tryed by the *greatest*, it would goe on the *other* side. For *Excellencies* goe as it were *by chance*: but *Kinds* goe by a *more certain Nature*; as by *Discipline* in War.

Lastly, many *Kinds* have much *Refuse*, which countervail that, which they have *excellent*; and therefore generally *Metal* is more precious than *Stone*, and yet a *Diamond* is more precious than *Gold*.

3. *Quod ad Veritatem refertur, Majus est, quam quod ad Opinionem. Modus autem & probatio ejus, quod ad Opinionem pertinet, hæc est: "Quod "quis, si clam putaret fore, facturus "non esset.* That is,

That, which hath a relation to *Truth*, is *Greater*, than that, which refers to

to *Opinion*. But the Measure, and Tryal of that, which belongs to *Opinion*, is this: "It is that, which a "Man would not do, if he thought "it would not be known.

SO the *Epicures* say to the *Stoicks Felicity* placed in *Virtue*; That it is like the Felicity of a *Player*, who, if he were left of his *Auditours*, and their *Applause*, would streight be out of Heart and Countenance, and therefore they call *VIRTUE*, *Bonum theatrale*; that is, *A Stage-Good*. But of *Riches* the *Poet* saith,

Populus me sibilat,
At mihi plaudo: i. e.

"Me People *hiss* abroad,
"But I my self *applaud*.

And of *Pleasure*,

— *Grata sub imo*
Gaudia corde premens, vultu simulato pudorem: i. e.

"Your welcom Joys *within* let stifled lye,
"But counterfeit *abroad*, a Modesty.

The *Fallax* of this *Colour* is somewhat subtil, though the Answer to the Example be ready: For *Virtue* is not chosen *Propter auram popularem*, for the applause of the *People*; but contrariwise, (*Maximè omnium teipsum reverere*, a Man ought to stand most in awe of himself;) So as a *Virtuous* Man will be Virtuous in *solitudine*, in a *Desart*, and not onely in *theatro*, upon the *Stage*: though percase it will be more strong by *Glory* and *Fame*; as an *Heat*, which is doubled by *Reflection*. But that denieth the *Supposition*, it doth not reprehend the *Fallax*, whereof the *reprehension* is a Law, that *Virtue* (such as is joyned with Labour and Conflict) would not be chosen, but for *Fame*, and *Opinion*; yet it followeth not, that the *chief Motive* of the Election should not be *real*, and for *it self*; for *Fame* may be onely *causa impulsiva*, the *impelling* or *urging* Cause; and not *causa constituens*, or *efficiens*, the *constituting*, or *efficient* Cause. As if there were two *Horses*, and the one would do better *without the Spur*, than the other: but, again, the other *with the Spur* would far exceed the doing of the former, giving him the *Spur* also; yet the *latter* will be judged to be the *better Horse*: and the *Form*, as to say, *Tush, the life of this Horse is but in the Spur*, will not

not serve as to a *wise* Judgement: for, since the *ordinary Instrument* of Horsmanship is the *Spur*, and that it is no matter of *Impediment*, or *Burthen*, the *Horse* is not to be accounted the less of, which will not do well *without the Spur*; but rather the other is to be reckoned a *Delicacy*, than a *Virtue*. So *Glory* and *Honour* are the *Spurs* to *Virtue*: and, although *Virtue* would *languish* without them; yet since they be alwayes at hand to attend *Virtue*, Virtue is not said to be the less chosen *for it self*; because it needeth the *Spur* of *Fame* and *Reputation*. And therefore that Position, *Nota ejus rei, quod propter Opinionem, & non propter Veritatem eligitur, hæc est; Quod quis, si clam putaret fore, facturus non esset*: (*That is, That* The Mark of a Thing chosen for Opinion, and not for Truth-sake, is this; That one would not do it, if he thought it would not be known) is reprehended.

4. *Quod rem integram servat, Bonum: quod sine receptu est, Malum. Nam se recipere non posse, impotentia genus est: potentia autem Bonum*: That is,

That, which keeps a Matter safe and entire, is *Good*: but what is destitute

and unprovided of a Retreat, is *Bad*. For, whereas all Ability of Acting is Good, not to be able to withdraw ones self, is a kind of Impotency.

HEreof *Æsop* framed the *Fable* of the *two Frogs* that consulted together in the time of *Drouth*, (when many *Plashes* that they had repaired to were *dry*) what was to be done: and the *one* propounded to go down into a deep *Well*, because it was like the *Water* would not *fail* there, but the *other* answered, *Yea, but if it do fail, how shall we get up again.* And the *Reason* is, that *Humane Actions* are so *uncertain*, and subject to *perils*, as that seemeth the *best* course, which hath most *passages* out of it. Appertaining to this Perswasion, the *Formes* are, *You shall engage your self*: on the other side, *Quantum, quantum velis, sumes ex fortuna*, i. e. Take what Lot you will, or, *You shall keep the matter in your own Hand.* The *Reprehension* of it is, that *Proceeding and Resolving in all actions is necessary.* For, as he saith well, *Not to resolve is to resolve*, and many times it buyeth as many *Necessities*, and engageth as far in some other sort, as to *resolve.* So it is but the *covetous* Mans Disease translated in *power*, for the *covetous* Man will

will *enjoy nothing*, because he will have his *full store*, and *possibility* to enjoy the more; so, by *this* Reason, a Man should *execute nothing*, because he should be still *indifferent*, and *at liberty* to execute *any* thing. Besides *Necessity* and this same *Facta est alea*, or, once having *cast the Dice*, hath many times an advantage; because it awaketh the *powers* of the Mind, and strengtheneth Endeavour, (*Cæteris paribus, necessitate certè superiores istius:*) which are able to *deal with* any others, but *master* these upon *necessity*.

5. *Quod ex pluribus constat, & divisibilibus, est Majus, quam quod ex paucioribus, & magis Unum: nam omnia, per partes considerata, majora videntur; quare & Pluralitas partium Magnitudinem præ se fert. Fortiùs autem operatur Pluralitas partium, si Ordo absit: nam inducit similitudinem Infiniti, & impedit comprehensionem:* That is,

That, which consists of *more* Parts, and those *Divisible*, is *Greater*, and *more One*, than what is made up of *fewer*; for All Things, when they are looked upon *piece-meal*, seem *Greater*; whence

whence also a Plurality of Parts makes shew of a Bulk considerable. Which a Plurality of Parts effects more strongly, if they be in no certain *Order*; for it then resembles an *Infinity*, and hinders the comprehending of them.

THis *Colour* seemeth palpable; for it is not *Plurality of Parts*, without *Majority of Parts*, that maketh the *Total* Greater; yet nevertheless, it often carries the *Mind* away; yea, it deceiveth the *Sense*; as, it seemeth to the *Eye* a shorter distance of *Way*, if it be all *dead* and *continued*, than if it have *Trees*, or *Buildings*, or any other *Marks*, whereby the *Eye* may divide it. So when a *great-moneyed* Man hath divided his *Chests*, and *Coyns*, and *Bags*, he seemeth to himself *richer* than he was. And therefore the way to *amplifie* any thing, is to *break* it, and to *make Anatomy* of it in *several parts*, and to examine it according to *several Circumstances*. And this maketh the greater shew, if it be done *without Order*; for *Confusion* maketh things *muster* more. And besides, what is set down by *Order*, and *Division*, doth demonstrate, that nothing is *left out*, or *omitted*; but *all* is there; whereas, if it be

be *without Order*, both the Mind *comprehendeth* less that which is set down, and besides it leaveth a suspicion, as if *more* might be *said*, than is *expressed*.

This *Colour* deceiveth, if the Mind of him that is to be perswaded, do of it self *over-conceive*, or *prejudge* of the *Greatness* of any thing; for then the *breaking* of it will make it seem *less*, because it makes it to appear more according to the *Truth*. And therefore, if a Man be in *Sickness*, or *Pain*, the time will seem longer *without a Clock*, or *Hour-glass*, than *with* it: for the Mind doth *value* every *Moment*, and then the *Hour* doth rather *sum up* the *Moments*, than *divide* the *Day*. So in a *dead Plain* the *Way* seemeth the *longer*, because the *Eye* hath pre-conceived it *shorter*, than the Truth: and the *frustrating* of that maketh it seem *longer*, than the Truth. Therefore, if any Man have an *over-great Opinion* of any thing, then if another think, by *breaking* it into *several Considerations*, he shall make it seem *greater* to him, he will be *deceived*. And therefore, in such *Cases*, it is not safe to *divide*, but to *extoll* the *Entire* still *in general*.

Another *Case*, wherein this *Colour* deceiveth, is, when the Matter *broken*, or *divided*, is not *comprehended* by the Sense, or

made

made at once in respect of the *distracting* or *scattering* of it; and being *Entire*, and *not divided*, is *comprehended*. As an *hundred Pounds* in Heaps of *five Pounds* will shew *more*, than in *one great* Heap: so as the *Heaps* be all upon *one Table* to be seen *at once*, otherwise not. As *Flowers*, growing scattered in *divers Beds*, will shew *more*, than if they did grow in *one* Bed: so as all those *Beds* be within a *Plot*, that they be object to View *at once*, otherwise not. And therefore *Men*, whose Living lyeth *together* in *one Shire*, are commonly counted *greater-landed*, than those, whose Livings are *dispersed*, though it be *more*; because of the *notice*, and *comprehension*.

A third *Case*, wherein this *Colour* deceiveth, which is not so properly a *Case*, or *Reprehension*, as is a *counter Colour*, being in effect as *large* as the *Colour* it self is, *Omnis compositio indigentiæ conjugatum videtur esse particeps*, That Every Composition seemeth to partake of a certain Want: because, if any Thing would serve the turn, it were ever best, but it is the *Defect* and *Imperfection* of Things, that hath brought in that help to piece them up: as it is said,

* Luke 10. 41, 42. * *Martha, Martha, attendis ad plurima, unum*

sufficit;

sufficit: *that is*, Martha, Martha, thou art troubled about many things; one thing is sufficient. So likewise hereupon *Æsop* framed the *Fable* of the *Fox* and the *Cat*: wherein the *Fox* bragged, what a *number* of *shifts* and *devices* he had, to get from the *Hounds*; and the *Cat* said, he had but *one*, which was to *climbe a Tree*, which in proof was *better worth*, than all the rest; whereof the *Proverb* grew,

Multa novit Vulpes, sed Felis unum magnum.

Reynard the Hounds to scape had shifts not small,
Grimalkin only one as good as all.

And in the *Moral* of this *Fable*, it comes likewise to pass, That *A good sure Friend is a better help at a pinch, than all the Stratagems and Policies of a Mans own Wit.* So it falleth out to be a *common Errour* in *Negotiating*, whereas Men have *many* Reasons to *induce* or *perswade*, they strive commonly to utter, and use them *all at once*, which *weakneth* them. For it argueth, as was said, a *nakedness* in every of the *Reasons* by it self, as if one did not trust to *any* of them, but fled from *one* to *another*, helping himself only with *that*.

Et

Et quæ non prosunt singula, multa juvant.

" And what help'd not *alone* before,
" Doth help full well, when joyn'd with
" *more*.

Indeed, in a *set Speech* in an *Assembly*, it is expected, a Man should use *all* his *Reasons* in the *Case* he handleth: but in *private Perswasions* it is alwayes a *great Errour*.

A fourth *Case*, wherein this *Colour* may be *reprehended*, is in respect of that same *Vis unita fortior*, the acknowledged *strength* of an *united Power*, according to the *Tale* of the *FRENCH King*, who, when the *Emperour's Ambassadour* had recited his *Masters Style* at large, which consisteth of *many Countrys* and *Dominions*, the *FRENCH King* willed His *Chancellour*, or other *Minister*, to repeat over *FRANCE* as many times, as the other had recited the several *Dominions*; intending it was *equivalent* with them *all*, and more *compacted* and *united*.

There is also appertaining to this *Colour* another *Point*, why *breaking* of a Thing doth help it; not by way of adding a shew of *Magnitude* unto it, but a note of *Excellency* and

and *Rarity*: whereof the *Forms* are, *Where shall you find such a Concurrence? Great, but not compleat*: for it seems a less work of *Nature*, or *Fortune*, to make any thing in his kind *greater than ordinary*, than to make a *strange* Composition. Yet, if it be *narrowly* considered, this *Colour* will be *reprehended*, or encountered, by imputing to *all Excellencies* in *Compositions* a kind of *Poverty*, or (at least) a *Casualty*, or *Jeopardy*: for from that, which is excellent in *Greatness*, somewhat may be *taken*, or there may be a *decay*, and yet *sufficiently* left; but from that, which hath his price in *composition*, if you *take away* any thing, or any part do *fail*, all is *Disgrace*.

6. *Cujus Privatio bona, Malum: cujus Privatio mala, Bonum.* That is,

That, whose Privation (*or*, the Want of which) is Good, is in it self *Evil*: that, whose Privation (*or*, the Want whereof) is an Evil, is in it *Good*.

THe *Forms* to make it conceived, that that was *evil*, which is changed for the *better*, are; *He that is in Hell, thinks there is*

is no Heaven. Statis quercus; *Acorns were good, till Bread was found*, &c. And on the other side, the *Forms* to make it conceived, that that was *good*, which was changed for the *worse*, are; *Bona magis carendo, quàm fruendo sentimus*: *that is*, We understand the Goodness of things more by wanting, than enjoying them. *Bona à tergo formosissima*: i. e. *Good things never appear in their full Beauty, till they turn their Back, and be going away*, &c.

The *Representation* of this *Colour* is, That the *Good* or *Evil* which is *removed*, may be esteemed *good*, or *evil*, *comparatively*; and not *positively*, or *simply*. So that, if the *Privation* be *good*, it follows not, that the *former* condition was *evil*, but *less good*: for the *Flower*, or *Blossome*, is a *positive* Good; although the *remove* of it, to give place to the *Fruit*, be a *comparative* Good. So in the *Tale* of *Æsop*, when the *old fainting* Man in the *heat* of the day cast down his *Burthen*, and called for *Death*; and, when *Death* came to know his *will* with him, said, *It was for nothing, but to help him up with his Burthen again*: it doth not follow, that because *Death*, which was the *privation* of the *Burthen*, was *ill*, therefore the *Burthen* was *good*. And in this part the ordinary *Form*

of

of *Malum necessarium*, a necessary Evil, aptly *reprehendeth* this *Colour*: for *Privatio mali necessarii est mala*, the privation of a necessary Evil is Evil; and yet that doth not convert the *Nature* of the *Necessary Evil*, but it is *evil*.

Again, it cometh sometimes to pass, that there is an *equality* in the change of *Privation*, and (as it were) a *Dilemma boni*, of the *good*; or, a *Dilemma mali*, of the *evil*; so that the "*Corruption* of the *one Good* is a *Generation* of the *other*.

" *corruptio unius est generatio alterius.*

Sorti pater æquus utrique est;

Both *Chances* the same *equal Parent* have:

And contrarily, the *remedy* of the *one* Evil, is the *occasion* and *commencement* of *another*; as in *Scylla* and *Charibdis*.

7. *Quod Bono vicinum, Bonum: quod a Bono remotum, Malum.* This is,

What is near to Good, is *Good*: what is at distance from Good, is *Evil*.

SUch is the *Nature* of Things, that Things *contrary*, and *distant* in *Nature* and *Quality*;

Quality; and also *severed*, and *disjoyned* in *Place*; and Things *like*, and *consenting* in *Quality*, are *placed*, and (as it were) *quartered together*: for partly, in regard of the *Nature*, to *spread*, *multiply*, and *assoil* in similitude; and partly, in regard of the *Nature*, to *break*, *expel*, and *alter* that, which is *disagreeable*, and *contrary*, most things do either *associate*, and *draw near* to themselves the *like*, or (at least) *assimilate* to themselves that, which *approacheth near* them, and do also *drive away*, *chase*, and *exterminate* their *contraries*. And that is the *reason* commonly yielded, why the *middle Region* of the *Air* should be *coldest*, because the *Sun*, and *Stars*, are either *hot* by *direct Beams*, or by *reflection*. The *direct Beams* heat the *upper Region*, the *reflected Beams* from the *Earth*, and *Seas*, heat the *lower Region*. That which is in the *middest*, being further distant in *place* from these *two Regions* of *heat*, are most distant in *Nature*, that is *coldest*, which is that they term *cold*, or *hot*, *Per* * *Antiperistasin*, that is, *environing by Contraries*: which was pleasantly taken hold of by him, who said, that

* *Antiperistasis* is a Philosophical Term signifying a repulsion on every part, whereby either Heat or Cold is made more strong in it self by the restraining of the contrary.

that an honest Man in these dayes must needs be more honest than in Ages heretofore, propter antiperistasin; because the shutting of him in the midst of Contraries must needs make the honester stronger, and more compact in it self.

The *Reprehension* of this *Colour* is;

First, Many Things of *Amplitude* in their kind do (as it were) *Engross* to themselves *all*, and leave that, which is *next* them, most *destitute*. As the *Shoots*, or *Under-wood*, that grow near a *great* and *spread Tree*, is the *most pyned* and *scrubby* Wood of the Field; because the *great Tree* doth *deprive* and *deceive* them of the *sap* and *nourishment*; so He saith well, *Divitis servi maximè servi*, That Rich Mens Servants are the greatest Slaves: and the *Comparison* was pleasant of him, that compared *Courtiers* attendant in the *Courts of Princes*, without great *place* or *office*, to *Fasting-dayes*, which were next the *Holy-dayes*; but otherwise were the leanest dayes in all the Week.

Another *Reprehension* is, that Things of *Greatness* and *Predominancy*, though they do not *extenuate* the Things adjoyning in *substance*, yet they *drown* them, and *obscure* them in *shew* and *appearance*. And therefore the *Astronomers* say; that, whereas in *all*

other

other Planets *Conjunction* is the *perfectest and best*, the *Sun* contrariwise is *good* by *Aspect*, but *evil* by *Conjunction*.

A third *Reprehension* is, because *Evil* approacheth to *Good*, sometimes for *concealment*, sometimes for *protection*: and *Good* to *Evil* for *conversion* and *reformation*. So *Hypocrisie* draweth near to *Religion* for *covert* and *hiding* it self.

Sæpe latet vitium proximitate boni.

"Oft, under neighb'ring *Good*, *Vice*
"shrowded lyes.

And *Sanctuary*-men, which were commonly *inordinate* Men, and *Malefactours*, were wont to be neareſt to *Prieſts*, and *Prelates*, and *Holy*-men: for the *Majeſty* of good Things is ſuch, as the *Confines* of them are reverend. On the other ſide, our *Saviour*, charged with nearneſs of *Publicans* and *Sinners*, ſaid, *Mat.* 9. 11. *The Phyſician approacheth the Sick, rather than Whole.*

8. *Quod quis culpa ſua contraxit, Majus Malum: quod ab externis imponitur, Minus Malum.* That is,

The

That, which a Man hath procured by his own Default, is a *Greater Mischief* (or *Evil:*) that, which is laid on him by others, is a *Lesser Evil.*

THe *Reason* is; because the *sting* and *remorse* of the Mind, *accusing* it self, *doubleth* all Adversity: Contrariwise, the *considering* and *recording* inwardly, that a Man is *clear* and *free* from *faults*, and just *imputation*, doth *attemper* outward Calamities. For if the *Will* be in the *Sense*, and in the *Conscience* both, there is a *gemination* of it: but if *Evil* be in the *one*, and *Comfort* in the *other*, it is a kind of *compensation*. So the *Poets* in *Tragedies* do make the *most passionate Lamentation*, and those that fore-run *final despair*, to be *accusing*, *questioning*, and *torturing* of a *Mans self.*

Sequi unam clamat causamque caputque malorum.

"She railing doth confess *her self* to be
"The *cause* and *source* of *her own* Miserie.

And contrariwise, the *Extremities* of *worthy* Persons have been *annihilated* in the consideration of *their own good deserving*. Besides, when

when the *Evil* cometh from *without*, there is left a kind of *evaporation* of *grief*, if it come by *humane injury*, either by *indignation*, and *meditating* of *revenge* from our selves, or by *expecting*, or *fore-conceiving*, that *Nemesis* and *retribution* will take hold of the *Authours* of our *hurt*; or, if it be by *Fortune*, or *Accident*; yet there is left a kind of *expostulation* against the *Divine Powers*:

Atque Deos atque Astra vocat crudelia Mater:

"The Gods and cruel Stars the Mother "doth charge.

But, where the *Evil* is derived from a Mans *own fault*, there all strikes *deadly inward*, and *suffocateth*.

The *Reprehension* of this *Colour* is:

First, in respect of *Hope*: for Reformation of our *Fault* is in *nostra potestate*, our *own Power*; but Amendment of our *Fortune* simply is not. Therefore *Demosthenes* in many of his *Orations* saith thus to the People of *Athens*; *That, which having regard to the Time* past, *is the worse Point and Circumstance of all the rest*; *That, as to the Time to come, is the best. What is that, Even this*

The

That by your Sloth, Irresolution, and Misgovernment, your Affairs are grown to this Declination and Decay. For, had you used and ordered your Means and Forces to the best, and done your Parts every way to the full; and notwithstanding, your matters should have gone backward in this manner as they do: there had been no hope left of Recovery or Reputation. But since it hath been only by your own Errours, &c. So *Epictetus* in his *Decrees* saith, *The worst state of man is to accuse External Things, better than that to accuse any man's self, and best of all to accuse neither.*

Another *Reprehension* of this *Colour*, is in respect of the *well-hearing* of *Evils*, wherewith a Man can charge no body, but himself, which maketh them the *lesse*.

— *Leve fit, quod bene fertur onus:*

"That Burthen's light, that's orderly laid.

And therefore many *Natures* that are either *extremely proud*, and will take *no* Fault to *themselves*; or else *very true*, and *cleaving to themselves* (when they see the *blame* of any thing, that falls out *ill*, must light upon *themselves*) have no other *shift*, but to bear

it *out well*, and to *make the least* of it: For, as we see, when sometimes a *Fault* is *committed*, and before it be known, *who* is to *blame*, much *adoe* is made of it; but after, if it appear to be done by a *Son*, or by a *Wife*, or by a *near Friend*; then it is *light made of*: so much more, when a Man must *take* it *upon himself*. And therefore it is commonly seen, that *Women*, which marry *Husbands* of their *own choosing*, against their *Friends consents*, if they be never so *ill-used*, yet you shall seldome see them *complain*, but *set a good face on it*.

9. *Quod opera & virtute nostra partum est, Majus Bonum: quod ab alieno beneficio, vel ab indulgentia Fortunæ, dilatum est, Minus Bonum*, That is,

That, which is gotten by our own Paine and Industry, is a *Greater Good*: that, which comes by another Man's Courtesie, or the Indulgence of Fortune, is a *Lesser Good*.

THe *Reasons* are,

First, The *future Hope*: because the *favour* of *others*, or the *good Winds* of *Fortune*, we have no *state*, or *certainty*;

our *Endeavours*, or *Abilities*, we have. So as, when they have purchased us *one good Fortune*, we have them as *ready*, and *better-edged* and *environed* to procure *another*.

The *Forms* be: *You have won this by Play. You have not only the* Water; *but you have the* Receipt: *You can make it again, if it be lost*, &c.

Next: Because these *Properties*, which we enjoy by the *benefit* of *others*, carry with them an *obligation*, which seemeth a kind of *burthen*: whereas the *other*, which *derive* from *our selves*, are, like the *freest Parents*, *Absque aliquo inde reddendo*, without *making any restitution*. And, if they proceed from *Fortune*, or *Providence*, yet they seem to touch us secretly with the *reverence* of the *Divine Powers*, whose *Favours* we *taste*, and therefore work a kind of *religious Fear* and *Restraint*: whereas, in the *other* kind, that comes to pass, which the *Prophet* speaketh, *Exult, Lætantur, exultant, immolant plagis suis, & sacrificant reti suo*: Men are *glad*, they *rejoyce*, they *offer to their Toils*, and *sacrifice to their Nets*.

Thirdly: Because that, which cometh unto us without *our own Virtue*, yieldeth not that *Commendation* and *Reputation*: for *Actions* of *great Felicety* may draw *Wonder*,

but *Praise* less; as CICERO said to CÆSAR, *Quæ miremur, habemus; quæ laudemus, expectamus*: That is, They *had* what they might *wonder at*, but *expected* what they might *praise*.

Fourthly: Because the *Purchases* of our *own Industry* are joyned commonly with *labour* and *strife*; which gives an *edge*, and *appetite*, and makes the *fruition* of our Desires more *pleasant*. *Suavis cibus à venatu*; Venison is sweet of ones own killing.

On the *other* side, there be four *Counter-Colours* to this *Colour*, rather than *reprehensions*, because they be as *large* as the *Colour it self*.

First: Because *Felicity* seemeth to be a *character* of the *Favour* and *Love* of the *Divine Powers*; and accordingly works both *confidence* in *our selves*, and *respect* and *authority* from *others*. And *this Felicity* extendeth to many *casual* things, whereunto the *Care* or *Virtue* of Man cannot *extend*; and therefore seemeth to be *at large* Good. As when CÆSAR said to the *Sayler*; *Cæsarem portas, & fortunam ejus*, That he carried *Cæsar*, and *his Fortune*: If he had said *& virtutem ejus*, and *his Valour*. It had been *small comfort* against a *Tempest*; other-

wise

wise than if it might seem upon *Merit*, to induce *Fortune*.

Next: Whatsoever is done by *Virtue* and *Industry*, seems to be done by a kind of *Habit* and *Art*; and thereupon open to be *imitated* and *followed*: whereas *Felicity* is *imitable*. So we generally see, that Things of *Nature* seem more excellent than Things of *Art*; because they be *imitable*: for *Quod imitabile est, potentia quadam vulgatum est*; "What is *imitable*, is by a certain power "made known abroad.

Thirdly, *Felicity* commendeth *those* Things, which cometh *without* our own *Labour*: for *they* seem *Gifts*; and the *others* seem *Pennyworths*. Whereupon PLUTARCH saith elegantly of the *Acts* of TIMOLEON, who was so *fortunate*, compared with the *Acts* of AGESILAUS and EPAMINONDAS, that *They were like* HOMER's, *they ran so easily, and so well*. And therefore it is the *Word* we give unto *Poesie*, terming it a *happy Vein*; because *Facility* seemeth ever to come from *Happiness*

Fourthly: This same *prater spem, vel præter expectatum*, when Things happen besides *Hope*, or *Expectation*, it doth increase the *price* and *pleasure* of many Things; and this

cannot be incident to *those* Things, that proceed from *our own acts*, and *compassing*.

10. *Gradus Privationis major videtur, quàm gradus Diminutionis: & rursus, gradus Inceptionis major videtur, quam gradus Incrementi.* That is,

The Degree of *Privation* seems Greater, than the Degree of *Diminution*: And again, the Degree of *Inception* (or *Beginning*) seems Greater, than the Degree of *Increase*.

IT is a *Position* in the *Mathematicks*, that *There is no Proportion between Somewhat and Nothing*: therefore the Degree of *Nullity*, and *Quoddity* (or *Act*) seemeth larger, than the Degrees of *Increase* and *Decrease*. As to a *Monoculous* it is more to lose *two Eyes*, than to a Man, that hath *two Eyes*. So, if one have lost *divers Children*, it is *more grief* to him to lose the *last*, than *all the rest*; because he is, *spes gregis*, the *hope of his Stock*. And therefore *Sibylla*, when she brought her *three Books*, and had burned *two*, did *double* the *whole price* of *both the other*; because the *burning* of that had been *gradus privationis*, a Degree of *Privation*, and

and not *diminutionis*, of *Diminution*.

This *Colour* is *reprehended*:

First, In those Things, the *use*, and *service* whereof resteth in *sufficiency*, *competency*, or *determinate quantity*: As if a Man be to pay *one hundred Pounds* upon *Penulty*, it is more to him to *want Twelve Pence*, than after that *Twelve Pence*, supposed to be *wanting*, to want *Ten Shillings more*. So the *Decay* of a Man's *Estate* seems to be *most touched* in the Degree, when he *first grows behind*, more than afterwards, when he proves *nothing worth*. And hereof the common *Forms* are: *Sera in fundo parsimonia*; or, *It is too late to pinch, when the Purse is at the bottom*; and, *As good never a Whit, as never the Better*.

It is *reprehended* also in respect of that Notion, *Corruptio unius generatio alterius*: That the Corruption of one thing is the Generation of another. So that *gradus Privationis*, the *Privative* Degree is many times *less matter*; but nse it gives the *cause* and *motive* to some *new course*. As when *Demosthenes* reprehended the people for *hearkning* to the *Conditions* offered by *King PHILIP*, being not *honourable*, nor *equal*, he saith, *They were but Elements of their Sloth and Weakness, which if they were taken away, Necessity*

would teach them stronger resolutions: So Doctor *Hector* was wont to say to the *Dames* of *London*, when they complained, they *were they could not tell how*; but yet they could not endure *to take any Medicine*, he would tell them, *their Way was only* to be *sick*; *for then they would be glad to take any Medicine.*

Thirdly, This *Colour* may be *reprehended* in respect that the Degree of *Decrease* is more *sensitive*, than the Degree of *Privation*: for in the mind of Men, *gradus Diminutionis*, the Degree of *Decrease*, may work a *wavering* between *Hope* and *Fear*, and keep the Mind *in suspense*, from *setling*, and accommodating in *patience*, and *resolution*. Hereof the common *Forms* are: *Better Eye out, than always ake. Make, or marr*, &c.

For the *second Branch* of this *Colour*, it depends upon the same *general Reason*: hence grew the *Common-Place* of extolling the *beginning* of every thing.

Dimidium facti, qui bene cæpit, habet.

"He hath his Work half done,
"Who e're hath well begun.

This made the *Astrologers* so *idle*, as to judge of a *Man's Nature* and *Destiny*, by the *Constellation*

stellation of the Moment of his *Nativity* or *Conception*.

This *Colour* is *reprehended*, because many *Inceptions* are but (as *Epicurus* termeth them) *Tentamenta*, that is, *imperfect Offers* and *Essayes*, which *vanish*, and come to *no substance*, without any *iteration*; so as, in such *Cases*, the *second Degree* seems the *worthiest*; as the *Body-horse* in the *Cart*, that draweth more than the *Fore-horse*. Hereof the common *Forms* are: *The second Blow makes the Fray. The second Word makes the Bargain. Alter principium dedit, alter modum absolvit*, &c. The One began, the Other kept no Mean.

Another *Reprehension* of this *Colour* is in respect of *Defatigation*, which makes *Perseverance* of *greater* Dignity, than *Inception*: for *Chance*, or *Instinct* of *Nature*, may cause *Inception*; but *settled Affection*, or *Judgement*, maketh the *Continuance*.

Thirdly, This *Colour* is *reprehended* in such Things, which have a *natural Course* and *Inclination*, contrary to an *Inception*. So that the *Inception* is continually *evacuated*, and gets no *start*, but there behoveth *perpetua Inceptio*, that there be *always* a *Beginning*; as in the common *Forms*: *Non progredi, est regredi*: "Not to goe *forward*, is to goe

"*backward. Qui non proficit, deficit:* "He, "who makes no *Progress*, decayes. *Running against an Hill: Rowing against the Stream*, &c. For, if it be with the *Stream*, or with the *Hill*, then the Degree of *Inception* is more than *all the rest*.

Fourthly, This *Colour* is to be understood of *Gradus Inceptionis à potentia, ad actum comparati, non gradus ab actu ad Incrementum*: "Of the Degree of *Inception*, in com-"parison of the *Power* with the *Act*, not of "the Degree from the *Act* to the *Increase*. For otherwise, *Major videtur gradus ab impotentia ad potentiam, quam à potentia ad actum*: "The Degree from *Impotency* to "*Potency* seems *greater*, than from the *Power* "to the *Act*.

FINIS.

THE VVISDOME OF THE ANCIENTS.

Written in *Latine* by the Right Honorable Sir *Francis Bacon* Knight, Baron of *Verulam* and Lord Chancellor of

England.

Done into Engliſh by Sir, *Arthur Gorges* *KNIGHT.*

Sentum invincibile fides.

London, Printed by *Thomas Ratcliffe*, and *Tho. Daniel* for *Humphery Robinſon*, at the three Pigeons in St. *Pauls* Church-yard, 1669.

The PREFACE.

THE Antiquities of the first age (except those we find in sacred Writ) were buried in oblivion and silence: silence was succeeded by Poetical Fables; and Fables again were followed by the Records we now enjoy. So that the mysteries and secrets of Antiquity were distinguished and separated from the Records and Evidences of succeeding times by the vail of fiction, which interposed it self and came between those things which perished, and those which are extant. I suppose some are of opinion, that my purpose is to write toyes and trifles, and to usurpe the same liberty in applying, that the Poets assumed in faining, which I might do (I confesse) if I listed, and with more serious contemplation intermix these things, to delight either my self in meditation, or others in reading. Neither am I ignorant how fickle and inconstant a thing fiction is, as being subject to be drawn and wrested any way, and how great

the commodity of wit and discourse is, that is able to apply things well, yet so as never meant by the first Authors. But I remember that this liberty hath been lately much abused, in that many, to purchase the reverence of Antiquity to their own inventions and fancies, have for the same intent laboured to wrest many Poetical Fables: Neither hath this old and common vanity been used only of late or now and then: for even Crisippus *long ago did (as an interpreter of dreams) ascribe the opinions of the Stoiks to the antient Poets; and more sottishly do the* Chymicks *appropriate the fancies and delights of Poets in the transformations of bodies, to the experiments of their furnace. All these things, I say, I have sufficiently considered and weighed, and in them have seen and noted the general levity and indulgence of mens wits above Allegories. And yet for all this I relinquish not my opinion. For first it may not be, that the folly and looseness of a few should altogether detract from the respect due to the Parables: for that were a conceit which might savour*

ſavour of prophaneneſſe and preſumption: for Religion it ſelf doth ſometimes delight in ſuch vails and ſhadows: ſo that who ſo exempts them, ſeems in a manner to interdict all commerce between things divine and humane. But concerning humane wiſdome, I do indeed ingeniouſly and freely confeſſe, that I am inclined to imagine, that under ſome of the ancient fictions lay couched certain myſteries and Allegories, even from their firſt invention. And I am perſwaded (whether raviſhed with the reverence of Antiquity, or becauſe in ſome Fables I find ſuch ſingular proportion between the ſimilitude and the thing ſignified; and ſuch apt and clear coherence in the very ſtructure of them, and propriety of names wherewith the perſons or actors in them are inſcribed and intituled) that no man can conſtantly deny, but this ſence was in the Authors intent and meaning, when they firſt invented them, and that they purpoſely ſhadowed it in this ſort: For who can be ſo ſtupid and blind in the open light, as (when he hears how Fame, after

the Gyants were destroyed, sprang up as their youngest sister) not to refer it to the murmurs and seditious reports of both sides, which are wont to flie abroad for a time after the suppressing of insurrections? Or when he hears how the Gyant Typhon *having cut out and brought away* Jupiters *nerves, which* Mercury *stole from him, and restored again to* Jupiter; *doth not presently perceive how fitly it may be applied to powerfull rebellions, which take from Princes their sinews of money & authority, but so, that by affability of speech, and wise edicts (the minds of their subjects being in time privily and as it were by stealth reconciled) they recover their strength again? Or when he hears how (in that memorable expedition of the gods against the Gyants) the braying of* Silenus *his Asse, conduced much to the profligation of the Gyants, doth not confidently imagine that it was invented to shew, how the greatest enterprises of Rebels are oftentimes dispersed with vain rumors and fears.*

More-

Moreover, to what judgement can the conformity and signification of Names *seem obscure? Seeing* Metis *the wife of* Jupiter *doth plainly signifie counsell:* Typhon, *insurrection;* Pan, *universality;* Nemesis, *revenge, and the like. Neither let it trouble any man, if sometimes he meet with Historical narrations, or additions for ornaments sake, or confusion of times, or something transferred from one Fable to another, to bring in a new Allegory: for it could be no otherwise, seeing they were the inventions of men, which lived in divers ages, and had also divers ends: some being ancient, others neoterical: some having an eye to things natural, others to moral.*

There is another argument, and that no small one neither, to prove that these Fables contain certain hidden and involved meanings, seeing some of them are observed to be so absurd and foolish in the very relation that they shew, and as it were proclaim a parable afar off: for such tales as are probable, they may seem to be invented

for delight, and in imitation of History. And as for such as no man would so much as imagine or relate, they seem to be sought out for other ends: For what kind of fiction is that, wherein Jupiter *is said to have taken* Metis *to wife, and, perceiving that she was with child, to have devoured her, whence himself conceiving, brought forth* Pallas *armed out of his head? Truly I think there was never dream (so different to the course of cogitation, and so full of monstrosity) ever hatcht in the brain of man. Above all things this prevails most with me, and is of singular moment, many of these Fables seem not to be invented of those by whom they are related and celebrated, as by* Homer, Hesiod, *and others: for if it were so, that they took beginning in that age, and from those Authors by whom they are delivered and brought to our hands; My mind gives me there could be no great or high matter expected, or supposed to proceed from them in respect of these Originals. But if with attention we consider the matter, it will*

appear

appear that they were delivered and related as things formerly believed and received, and not as newly invented and offered unto us. Besides, seeing they are diversly related by Writers that lived near about one and the self same-time, we may easily perceive that they were common things, derived from precedent memorials; and that they became various by reason of the divers ornaments bestowed on them by particular relations. And the consideration of this must needs encrease in us a great opinion of them, as not to be accounted either the effects of the times or inventions of the Poets, but as sacred reliques or abstracted ayres of better times, which by tradition from more ancient Nations fell into the Trumpets and Flutes of the Grecians. But if any do obstinately contend, that Allegories are alwaies adventitially, and as it were by constraint, never naturally and properly included in Fables, we will not be much troublesome, but suffer them to enjoy that gravity of judgement which I am sure they effect, although indeed it be

but lumpiſh and almoſt leaden. And (if they be worthy to be taken notice of) we will begin a freſh with them in ſome other faſhion.

There is found among men (and it goes for currant) a twofold uſe of Parables, and thoſe (which is more to be admired) referred to contrary ends; conducing as well to the foulding up, and keeping of things under a vail, as to the enlightning and laying open of obſcurities. But omitting the former, (rather than to undergo wrangling, and aſſuming auncient Fables as things vagrant and compoſed only for delight) the latter muſt queſtionleſs ſtill remain as not to be wreſted from us by any violence of wit, neither can any (that is but meanly learned) hinder, but it muſt abſolutely be received, as a thing grave and ſober, free from all vanity, and exceeding profitable and neceſſary to all Sciences. This is it, I ſay, that leads the underſtanding of man by an eaſie and gentle paſſage through all novell & abſtruſe inventions, which any way differ from common

received

received opinions. Therefore in the first ages (when many humane inventions and conclusions, which are now common and vulgar, were new and not generally known) all things were full of Fables, ænigmaes, parables, and similes of all sorts: by which they sought to teach and lay open, not to hide and conceal knowledge, especially, seeing the understandings of men were in those times rude and impatient, and almost incapable of any subtilties, such things only excepted, as were the objects of sense: for as Hieroglyphicks preceded letters, so parables were more ancient than Arguments. And in these days also, he that would illuminate mens minds anew in any old matter, and that not with disprofit and harshnesse, must absolutely take the same course, and use the help of similes. Wherefore all that hath been said, we will thus conclude: The wisedome of the Ancients, it was either much, or happy; Much, if these figures and tropes were invented by study and premeditation; Happy, if they (intending nothing

thing leſſe) gave matter and occaſion to ſo many worthy meditations. As concerning my labours (if there be any thing in them which may do good) I will on neither part count them ill beſtowed, my purpoſe being to illuſtrate either Antiquity, or things themſelves. Neither am I ignorant that this very Subject hath been attempted by others: But to ſpeak as I think, and that freely without oſtentation, the dignity and efficacy of the thing is almoſt loſt by theſe mens writings, though voluminous and full of pains, whilſt not diving into the depth of matters, but skilfull only in certain common places, have applyed the ſenſe of theſe Parables to certain vulgar and general things, not ſo much as glanſing at their true vertue, genuine propriety, and full depth. (If I be not deceived) ſhall be new in common things. Wherefore leaving ſuch as are plain and open, I will aim at further and richer matters.

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TO

To the BOOK.

Rich Mine of Art, Minion of Mercury;
True Truch-man of the mind of Mysterie:

Inventions Store-house; Nymph of Helicon:
Deep Moralist of Time Tradition.

Unto this Paragon of Brutus race
Present thy service, and with cheerfull grace

Say (if Pythagoras believ'd may be)
The soul of Ancient Wisdome *lives in Thee.*

THE

THE WISDOME OF THE ANCIENTS.

CASSANDRA, or Divination.

THe Poets fable that *Apollo* being enamoured of *Cassandra*, was by her many shifts and cunning sleights still deluded in his desire; but yet fed on with hope untill such time as she had drawn from him the gift of prophesying; and having by such her dissimulation in the end attained to that which from the beginning she sought after; at last flatly rejected his suite. Who finding himself so far engaged in his promise, as that he could not by any

[illegible] inflamed with an earnest desire of revenge, highly disdaining to be made the scorn of a rivalry with such, annexed a penalty to his promise, to wit, that she should ever foretell the truth, but never be believed: so were her divinations always faithfull, but at no time rewarded, whereof she still found the experience, yea even in the ruine of her own country, which she had often forewarned them of, but they neither gave credit nor eare to her words. This Fable seems to insinuate the unprofitable liberty of untimely admonitions and councels. For they that are so over-weened with the sharpness and dexterity of their own wit and capacity, as that they disdain to submit themselves to the documents of *Apollo*, the God of Harmony, whereby to learn and observe the method and measure of affairs, the gravity of discourse, the differences between the most judicious and more vulgar sort, and the due times when to speak and when to be silent. Be they never so fertile and pregnant, and their judgements never so profound and profitable, yet in all their indevours either of perswasion or patience they avail nothing, neither are they of any moment to advantage or manage matters, but do rather hasten on the ruine of all those that they

they adhere or devote themselves unto. And then at last when calamity hath made men feel the event of neglect, then shall they too late be reverenced as deep foreseeing and faithfull Prophets. Whereof a notable instance is eminently set forth in *Marcus Cato Uticensis*, who as from a watch-tower discovered a far off, and as an Oracle long foretold, the approaching ruine of his Countrey, and the plotted tyranny hovering over the State, both in the first conspiracy, and as it was prosecuted in the civil contention between *Caesar* and *Pompey*, and did no good the while, but rather harmed the common-wealth, and hastned on his Countreys bane, which *M. Cicero* wisely observed, and writing to a familiar friend doth in these terms excellently describe, *Cato omnia sentit, sed non ut in Republica Inquitur enim tanquam in Republica Platonis, non tanquam in fece Romuli.* *Cato* (saith he) judgeth profoundly, but in the mean time damnifies the State, for he speaks as in the common-wealth of *Plato*, and not as in the dregs of *Romulus*.

TIPHON, or a Rebell.

Juno being vexed (say the Poets) that *Jupiter* had begotten *Pallas* by himself without her, earnestly pressed all the other Gods and Goddesses that she might also bring forth of her self alone without him; and having by violence and importunity obtained a grant thereof, she smote the earth, and forthwith sprang up *Typhon* a huge and horrid monster: This strange birth she commits to a Serpent (as a Foster father) to nourish it; who no sooner came to ripeness of years, but he provokes *Jupiter* to battel. In the conflict, the Giant getting the upper hand, takes *Jupiter* upon his shoulders, carries him into a remote and obscure countrey, and (cutting out the sinews of his hands and feet) brought them away, and so left him miserably mangled and maymed. But *Mercury* recovering these nerves from *Typhon* by stealth, restored them again to *Jupiter*. *Jupiter* being again by this means coroborated, assaults the Monster afresh, and at the first strikes him with a thunder-boult, from whose blood serpents were ingendred. This Monster at length fainting and flying, *Jupiter* casts on him the mount

Etna,

Ætna, and with the weight thereof crusht him.

This Fable seems to point at the variable fortune of Princes, and the rebellious insurrection of Traytors in a State. For Princes may well be said to be married to their dominions, as *Jupiter* was to *Juno*: but it happens now an then, that being deboshed by the long custome of empyring and bending towards tyranny, they endeavor to draw all to themselves, and (contemning the counsell of their Nobles and Senators) hatcht laws in their own brain, that is, dispose of things by their own fancy and absolute power. The people (repining at this) study how to create and set up a chief of their own choise. This project by the secret instigation of the Peers and Nobles, doth for the most part take his beginning; by whose connivence the Commons being set on edge, there follows a kind of murmuring or discontent in the State, shadowed by the infancy of *Typhon*, which being nurst by the naturall pravity and clownish malignity of the vulgar sort (unto Princes as infestious as Serpents) is again repaired by renewed strength, and at last breaks out into open Rebellion, which (because it brings infinite mischiefs upon Prince and people) is represented by the monstrous deformity of

Typhon: his hundred heads signifie their divided powers; his fiery mouths their inflamed intents; his serpentine circles their pestilent malice in besieging; his iron hands, their mercilesse slaughters; his Eagles talents, their greedy rapines; his plumed body, their continual rumors and scouts, and fears, and such like. and sometimes these rebellions grow so potent, that Princes are inforc't (transported as it were by the Rebells, and forsaking the chief Seats and Cities of the Kingdome) to contract their power, and (being deprived of the finewes of money and majesty) betake themselves to some remote and obscure corner within their dominions: but in processe of time (if they bear their misfortunes with moderation) they may recover their strength by the virtue and industry of *Mercury*, that is, they may (by becomming affable, and by reconciling the minds and wills of their Subjects with grave edicts and gracious speech) excite an alacrity to grant ayds and subsidies whereby to strengthen their authority anew. Nevertheless having learned to be wise and wary, they will refrain to try the chance of Fortune by war, and yet study how to suppresse the reputation of the Rebels by some famous action, which if it fall out answerable to their expectation,

the

the Rebels finding themselves weakned, and fearing the successe of their broken projects; betake themselves to some slight and vain bravadoes, like the hissing of serpents, and at length in dispair betake themselves to flight, and then when they begin to break, it is safe and timely for Kings to pursue and oppress them with the forces and weight of the kingdome, as it were with the mountain Aetna.

The Cyclops, or the Ministers of Terror.

They say that the *Cyclops* (for their fiercenesse and cruelty) were by *Jupiter* cast into hell, and there doomed to perpetual imprisonment; but *Tellus* perswaded *Jupiter* that it would do well, if being set at liberty, they were put to forge thunder-boults, which being done accordingly, they became so painfull and industrious, as that day and night they continued hammering out in laborious diligence thunder-boults, and other instruments of terrour. In process of time *Jupiter* having conceived a displeasure against *Aesculapius* the son of *Apollo*, for restoring a dead man to life by Physicke: and concealing his dislike because there was no just cause of anger, the

deed being pious and famous) secretly incens't the *Cyclopes* against him, who without delay slew him with a thunder-bolt. In revenge of which act, *Apollo* (*Jupiter* not prohibiting it) shot them to death with his arrows.

This Fable may be applied to the projects of Kings, who having cruell, bloody, and exacting Officers, do first punish and displace them; afterwards by the counsell of *Tellus*, that is of some base and ignoble person, and by the prevailing respect of profit they admit them into their places again, that they may have instruments in a readiness, if at any time there should need either severity of execution, or acerbity of exaction. These servile creatures being by nature cruell, and by their former fortune exasperated, and perceiving well what is expected at their hands, do shew themselves wonderfull officious in such kind of imployments; but being too rash and precipitate in seeking countenance and creeping into favour, do sometimes take occasion from the secret beckenings and ambiguous commands of their Prince to performe some hatefull execution. But Princes (abhorring the fact, and knowing well that they shall never want such kind of instruments) do utterly forsake them, turning them over to the friends

and

and allies of the wronged to their accusations and revenge, and to the generall hatred of the people; so that with great applause and prosperous wishes and exclamations towards the Prince, they are brought, rather too late than undeservedly, to a miserable end.

NARCISSUS, or Self-Love.

THey say that *Narcissus* was exceeding fair and beautifull, but wonderfull proud and disdainfull; wherefore despising all others in respect of himself, he leads a solitary life in the woods and chases with a few followers, to whom he alone was all in all; among the rest there follows him the Nymph *Echo*. During his course of life it fatally so chanc't that he came to a clear fountain, upon the banck whereof he lay down to repose himself in the heat of the day. And having espyed the shadow of his own face in the water, was so besotted and ravished with the contemplation and admiration thereof, that by no means possible he could be drawn from beholding his image in the Glasse; insomuch that, by continual gazing thereupon, he pined away to nothing, and was at last turned into a flower of his own name, which appears in

the beginning of the Spring, and is sacred to the infernall powers, *Pluto*, *Proserpina*, and the Furies.

This Fable seems to shew the dispositions and fortunes of those, who in respect either of their beauty or other gift wherewith they are adorned and graced by nature without the help of industry, are so far besotted in themselves as that they prove the cause of their own destruction. For it is the property of men infected with this humor not to come much abroad, or to be conversant in civill affairs, especially seeing those that are in publick place must of necessity encounter with many contempts and scorns, which may much deject and trouble their minds, and therefore they lead for the most part a solitary, private, and obscure life, attended on with a few followers, and those such as will adore and admire them, and like an *Echo* flatter them in all their sayings, and applaud them in all their words. So that being by this custome seduced and puft up, and as it were stupified with the admiration of themselves, they are possessed with so strange a sloth and idleness, that they grow in a manner benum'd and defective of all vigor and alacrity. Elegantly doth this flower appearing in the beginning of the Spring, represent the likenesse of these men dis-

dispositions, who in their youth do flourish and waxe famous, but being come to ripenesse of years, they deceive and frustrate the good hope that is conceived of them. Neither is it impertinent, that this flower is said to be consecrated to the infernal deities, because men of this disposition become unprofitable to all humane things. For whatsoever produceth no fruit of it self, but passeth and vanisheth as if it never had been, (like the way of a ship in the Sea) that the Ancients were wont to dedicate to the ghosts and powers below.

STYX, or Leagues.

THE Oath by which the gods were wont to oblige themselves (when they meant to ratifie any thing so firmly as never to revoke it) is a thing well known to the vulgar, as being mentioned almost in every Fable, which was when they did not invoke or call to witnesse any celestial majesty or divine power, but only the River *Styx*, that with crooked and *Meandry* turnings incircleth the Palace of the infernal *Dis*. This was held as the only manner of their Sacrament, and besides it, not any other vow to be accounted firm and inviolable, and therefore the punishment

nishment to be inflicted (if any did perjure themselves) was that for certain years they should be put out of commons, and not to be admitted to the table of the gods.

This Fable seems to point at the Leagues and Pactes of Princes, of which more truly than opportunely may be said, that be they never so strongly confirmed with the solemnity and religion of an oath, yet are for the most part of no validity; insomuch that they are made rather with an eye to reputation, and report and ceremony, than to faith, security and effect. Moreover add to these the bonds of affinity, as the Sacraments of nature, and the mutuall deserts of each part, and you shall observe, that with a great many, all these things are placed a degree under ambition and profit, & the licentious desire of domination: And so much the rather, because it is an easie thing for Princes to defend and cover their unlawful desires & unfaithful vows, with many outwardly seeming fair pretexts, especially seeing there is no Umpier or Moderator of matters concluded upon, to whom a reason should be rendred. Therefore there is no true and proper thing made choice of, for the confirmation of faith, and that no celestial power neither, but is indeed *Necessity* (a great God to great Potentates) the peril also of State,

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and the Communication of profit. As for Necessity it is elegantly represented by *Styx*, that fatal & irremeable river, and this God-head did *Iphicrates* the *Athenian* call to the confirmation of a League, who because he alone is found to speak plainly that which many hide covertly in their breasts, it would not be amiss to relate his words. He observing how the *Lacedemonians* had thought upon and propounded divers cautions, sanctions, confirmations, and bonds pertaining to Leagues, interposed thus; *Illum Lacedemonii, nobis vobiscum vinculum, & securitatis ratio esse possit, si plane demonstretis, vos ea nobis concessisse, & inter manus posuisse, ut vobis facultas lædendi nos si maxime velletis minime suppetere possit.* There is one thing (O *Lacedemonians*) that would link us unto you in the bond of amity, and be the occasion of peace and security, which is, if you would plainly demonstrate, that you have yielded up and put into our hands such things as that, would you hurt us never so fain, you should yet be disfurnished of means to do it. If therefore the power of hurting be taken away, or if by breach of league there follow the danger of the ruine or dimunition of the State or tribute; then indeed the leagues may seem to be ratified and established, and as it were confirmed

firmed by the Sacrament of the *Stygian* lake; seeing that it includes the fear of prohibition, and suspension from the table of the gods, under which name the lawes and prerogatives, the plenty and felicity of a kingdome were signified by the Ancients.

PAN, or Nature.

THE Ancients have exquisitely described *Nature* under the person of *Pan*, whose original they leave doubtful; for some say that he was the son of *Mercury*; others attribute unto him a far different beginning, affirming him to be the common off-spring of *Penelope's* suitors, upon a suspition, that every one of them had to do with her, which latter relation doubtless gave occasion to some after writers to intitle this ancient fable with the name of *Penelope*, a thing very frequent amongst them, when they apply old fictions to young persons and names, and that many times absurdly and indiscreetly, as may be seen here: For *Pan* being one of the ancient gods, was long before the time of *Ulysses* and *Penelope*. Besides (for her maternal chastity) she was held venerable by Antiquity. Neither may we pretermit the third conceipt of his birth: for some say that he was the son of

Jupiter

Jupiter and *Hybris*, which signifies contumely or disdain. But howsoever begotten, the *Furiæ* (they say) were his sisters. He is purtrayed by the Ancients in this guise; on his head a pair of horns that reach to heaven, his body rough and hairy, his beard long and shaggy, his shape biformed above like a man, below like a beast, his feet like Goats-hoofs, bearing these ensignes of his jurisdiction, to wit, in his left hand a Pipe of seven reeds, & in his right a sheep-hook, or a staffe crooked at the upper end, and his mantle made of a Leopards skin. His dignities and offices were these, He was the God of Hunters, of Shepheards, and of all Rurall Inhabitants: Chief President also of hills and mountains, and next to *Mercury* the Embassador of the Gods. Moreover he was accounted the leader and commander of the *Nymphs*, which were always wont to dance the rounds and frisk about him; he was accosted by the *Satyrs* and the old *Sileni*. He had power also to strike men with terrors, and those especially vain and superstitious, which are termed *Panique* fears. His acts were not many, for ought that can be found in records, the chiefest was, that he challenged *Cupid* at wrestling, in which conflict he had the foil. The tale goes too, how that he caught the Giant *Typhon* in

in a net, and held him fast. Moreover when *Ceres* (grumbling and chafing that *Proserpina* was ravished) had hid her self away, and that all the gods took pains (by dispersing themselves into every corner) to find her out, it was only his good hap (as he was hunting) to light on her, & acquaint the rest where she was He presumed also to put it to the trial who was the best Musitian he or *Apollo*, and by the judgement of *Midas* was indeed preferred: But the wise Judge had a pair of Asses ears privily chopt to his Noddle for his sentence. Of his love-tricks, there is nothing reported, or at least not much, a thing to be wondred at, especially being among a troop of gods so profusely amorous. This only is said of him, that he loved the Nymph *Echo* (whom he took to wife) and one pretty wench more called *Syrinx*, towards whom *Cupid* (in an an angry and revengeful humor, because so audaciously he had challenged him at wrestling) inflamed his desire. Moreover he had no issue (which is a marvell also, seeing the gods, especially those of the Male-kind, were very generative) only he was the reputed father of a little girle called *Jambe*, that with many pretty tales was wont to make strangers merry; but some think that he did indeed beget her by his wife *Jambe*. This

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(if any be) is a noble tale, as being laid out and big-bellied with the secrets and mysteries of nature.

Pan (as his name imports) represents and lays open the All of things or Nature. Concerning his originall there are two only opinions that go for current; for either he came of *Mercury*, that is, the word of God, which the holy Scriptures without all controversie affirm, and such of the Phylosophers as had any smack of divinity assented unto; or else from the confused seeds of things. For they that would have one simple beginning refer it unto God: or if a materiate beginning they would have it various in power. So that we may end the controversie with this distribution, that the world tooke beginning either from *Mercury*, or from the seeds of all things.

Virg. Eclog. 6.

Namque canebat uti magnum per inane coacta.
Semina, terrarumque, animæque marisque fuissent.
Et liquidi simul ignis: & his exordia primis.

Omnia,

Omnia, & ipse tener mundi concreverat Orbis.

For rich-vain'd *Orpheus* sweetly did rehearse
How that the seeds of Fire, Air, Water, Earth,
Were all pack in the vast void Universe:
And how from these as first-lings all had birth,
And how the body of this Orbique frame,
From tender infancy to big became.

But as touching the third conceit of *Pans* Original, it seems that the Grecians (either by intercourse with the Egyptians, or one way or other) had heard something of the Hebrew mysteries; for it points to the state of the world, not considered in immediate creation, but after the fall of *Adam*, exposed and made subject to death and corruption: for in that state it was (and remains to this day) the off-spring of God and Sin. And therefore all these three narrations concerning the manner of *Pans* birth, may seem to be true, if it be rightly distinguished between things and times. For this *Pan* or Nature (which

(which we suspect, contemplate, and reverence more than is fit) took beginning from the word of God by the means of confused matter, and the entrance of prevarication and corruption. The definies may well be thought the fifters of *Pan* or *Nature*, because the beginnings and continuances, and corruptions, and depressions, and dissolutions, and eminences, and labours, and felicities of things, and all the chances which can happen unto any thing are linke with the chain of causes natural.

Horns are attributed unto him, because Horns are broad at the root and sharp at the ends, the nature of all things being like a *Pyramis* sharp at the top. For individual or singular things being infinite are first collected into *Species*, which are many also; then from *Species* into *generals*, and from *generals* (by ascending) are contracted into things or notions more general, so that at length *Nature* may seem to be contracted into a unity. Neither is it to be wondred at, that *Pan* toucheth Heaven with his horns, seeing the height of nature or universal *Ideas* do in some sort pertain to things divine, and there is a ready and short passage from *Metaphysick* to natural *Theology*.

The body of *Nature* is elegantly and with deep

deep judgement depainted hairy, representing the beams or operations of creatures; for beams are as it were the hairs and bristles of *Nature*, & every creature is either more or less beamy, which is most apparent in the faculty of seeing, and no less in every vertue and operation that effectuates upon a distant object: for whatsoever works up any thing a far off, that may rightly be said to dart forth rayes or beams.

Moreover *Pans* beard is said to be exceeding long, because the beams or influences of celestiall bodies do operate and pierce farthest of all, and the Sun, when (his higher half is shadowed with a cloud) his beams break out in the lower, and looks as if he were bearded.

Nature is also excellently set forth with a biformed body, with respect to the differences between superior and inferior creatures. For the one part, by reason of their pulcritude, and equability of motion, and constancy, and dominion over the earth and earthly things, is worthily set out by the shape of man: and the other part in respect of their perturbations and unconstant motions (and therefore needing to be moderated by the celestial) may be well fitted with the figure of a bruite beast. This description of his body pertains

pertains also to the participation of *Species*, for no natural being seems to be simple, but as it were participating and compounded of two. As for example; man hath something of a beast; a beast something of a plant; a plant something of an inanimate body, of that all natural things are in very deed biformed, that is to say, compounded of a superior, and inferior *Species*.

It is a witty Alegory, that same of the feet of a Goat, by reason of the upward tending motion of terrestrial bodies towards the Air and Heaven, for the Goat is a climbing creature that loves to be hanging about the rocks and steep mountains; And this is done also in a wonderfull manner, even by those things which are destinated to this inferiour globe, as may manifestly appear in clouds and Meteors.

The two Ensigns which *Pan* bears in his hands do point, the one at Harmony, the other at Empiry: For the Pipe consisting of seven reeds, doth evidently demonstrate the consent and harmony and discordant concord of all inferiour creatures, which is caused by the motion of the seven Planets: And that of the Sheep-hook may be excellently applyed to the order of nature, which is partly right, partly crooked: This staffe therefore or

rod

rod is especially crooked in the upper end, because all the works of divine providence in the world are done in a far fetcht and circular manner, so that one thing may seem to be effected, & yet indeed a clean contrary brought to passe; as the selling of *Joseph* into *Egypt*, and the like. Besides in all wise humane government, they that sit at the helme do more happily bring their purposes about, and insinuate more easily into the minds of the people, by pretexts and oblique courses, than by direct methods: so that all Scepters and Maces of authority ought in very deed to be crooked in the upper end.

Pans Cloak or mantle is ingeniously fained to be the skin of a Leopard, because it is ful of spots: So the Heavens are spotted with stars, the Sea with rocks and Islands, the Land with flowers, and every particular creature also is for the most part garnished with divers colours about the superficies, which is as it were a mantle unto it.

The Office of *Pan* can be by nothing so lively conceived and expressed, as by faining him to be the God of Hunters, for every natural action, and so by consequence, motion and progression, is nothing else but a hunting. Arts and Sciences have their works, and humane councels their ends which they earnestly hunt after.

ter. All natural things have either their food as a prey, or their pleasure as a recreation which they seek for, and that in most expert and sagacious manner.

Torva Leana Lupum sequitur, Lupus ille Capellam.
Hanc tenerum Cytisum sequitur lasciva Capella.

The hungry Lyoneſſe (with sharp desire)
Pursues the Wolfe; the Wolfe the wanton Goat:
The Goat againe doth greedily aspire
To have the trifol juyce passe down her throat.

Pan is also said to be the god of the Country-clowns, because men of this condition lead lives more agreeable unto nature, than those that live in the Cities and Courts of Princes, where Nature by too much art is corrupted: So as the saying of the Poet (though in the sence of love) might be here verified:

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Parvi minima est ipsa puella sui.

The Maid so trickt her self with Art,
That of her self she is least part.

He was held to be Lord President of the mountains, because in the high mountains and hills, *Nature* lays her self most open and men most apt to view and contemplation.

Whereas *Pan* is said to be (next unto *Mercury*) the messenger of the gods, there is in that a divine mystery conteined, for next to the word of God the Image of the World proclaims the power and wisdome divine, as sings the sacred Poet. Psal. 19. 1. *Cæli enarrant gloriam Dei, atque opera manuum ejus indicat firmamentum.* The Heavens declare the glory of God, and firmament sheweth the works of his hands.

The *Nymphs*, that is, the souls of living things take great delight in *Pan*. For their souls are the delights of minions of *Nature*, and the direction or conduct of these *Nymphs* is with great reason attributed unto *Pan*, because the souls of all things living do follow their natural dispositions as their guides, and with infinite variety every one of them after

his own fashion doth leap and frisk and dance with incessant motion about her. The *Satyri* and *Sileni* also, to wit, youth and old age are some of *Pans* followers: for of all natural things there is a lively, jocund, and (as I may say) a dancing age, and an age again that is dull, bibbling and reeling. The carriages and dispositions of both which ages to some such as *Democritus* was (that would observe them duly) might peradventure seem as ridiculous and deformed as the gambols of the *Satyrs*, or the gestures of the *Sileni*.

Of those fears and terrours which *Pan* is said to be the Author, there may be this wise construction made; namely, That nature hath bred in every living thing a kind of care and fear, tending to the preservation of its own life and being, and to the repelling and shunning of all things hurtful. And yet *Nature* knows not how to keep a mean, but always intermixes vain and empty fears with such as are discreet and profitable: so that all things (if their in-sides might be seen) would appear full of *Panick* frights: but men especially in hard, fearful & diverse times, are wonderfully infatuated with superstition, which indeed is nothing else but a *Panick* terrot.

Concerning the audacity of *Pan* in challenging *Cupid* at wrestling; the meaning of it is, that matter wants no inclination and desire to the relapsing and dissolution of the World into the old *Chaos*, if her malice and violence were not restrained and kept in order, by the prepotent unity and agreement of things signified by *Cupid*, or the god of love; and therefore it was a happy turn for men and all things else, that in that conflict *Pan* was found too weak and overcome.

To the same effect may be interpreted his catching of *Typhon* in a net: for howsoever there may sometimes happen vast and unwonted Tumors (as the name of *Typhon* imports) either in the Sea or in the Air, or in the earth, or elsewhere, yet *Nature* doth intangle it in an intricate toil, and curb and restrain it, as it were with a chain of Adamant, the excesses and insolencies of these kind of bodies.

But for as much as it was *Pans* good fortune to find out *Ceres* as he was hunting, and thought little of it, which none of the other Gods could do, though they did nothing else but seek her, and that very seriously; it gives us this true and grave admonition, That we expect not to receive things necessary for life

life and manners from phylosophical abstractions, as from the greater Gods; albeit they applied themselves to no other studie, but from *Pan*; that is, from the discreet observation, and experience, and the universal knowledge of the things of this World; whereby (oftentimes even by chance, and as it were going a hunting) such inventions are lighted upon.

The quarrell he made with *Appollo* about *Musick*, and the event thereof contains a wholsome instruction, which may serve to restrain mens reasons and judgments with reins of sobriety, from boasting and glorying in their gifts. For there seems to be a twofold Harmony, or Musick; the one of divine providence, and the other of humane reason. Now to the ears of mortals, that is to humane judgement, the administration of the World and creatures therein, and the more secret judements of God, found very hard and harsh; which folly, albeit it be well set out with Asses ears; yet not withstanding these ears are secret, and do not openly appear, neither is it perceived or noted as a deformity by the vulgar.

Lastly, it is not to be wondred at, that there is nothing attributed unto *Pan* concerning loves, but only of his marriage with *Ec-*

cho: For the World or Nature doth enjoy it self, and in it self all things else. Now he that loves would enjoy something, but where there is enough there is no place left to desire. Therefore there can be no wanton love in *Pan* or the World, nor desire to obtain any thing (seeing he is contented with himself) but only speeches, which (if plain) may be intimated by the Nymph *Echo*, or if more quaint by *Syrinx*. It is an excellent invention that *Pan* or the World is said to make choise of *Echo* only (above all other speeches or voyces) for his wife: for that alone is true philosophy, which doth faithfully render the very words of the World; and it is written no otherwise than the World doth dictate, it being nothing else but the image or reflection of it, not adding any thing of its own, but only iterates and resounds. It belongs also to the sufficiency or perfection of the World, that he begets no issue: for the World doth generate in respect of its parts, but in respect of the whole how can it generate, seeing without it there is no body? Notwithstanding all this, the tale of that tatling Girle falsely upon *Pan*, may in very deed with great reason be added to this Fable: for by her are represented those vain and idle paradoxes con-

concerning the nature of things which have been frequent in all ages, and have filled the world with novelties, fruitless if you respect the matter, changelings if you respect the kind, sometimes creating pleasure, sometimes tediousness with their overmuch prattling.

PERSEUS, or War.

Perseus is said to have been employed by *Pallas* for the destroying of *Medusa*; who was very infestuous to the Western parts of the World, and especially about the utmost coasts of *Hybria*. A monster so dire and horrid, that by her only aspect she turned men into stone. This *Medusa* alone of all the *Gorgons* was mortall, the rest not subject to death. *Perseus* therefore preparing himself for this noble enterprise, had arms and gifts bestowed on him by three of the gods: *Mercury* gave him wings annexed to his heels, *Pluto* a helmet, *Pallas* a shield and a Looking-glass. Notwithstanding (although he were thus furnished) he went not directly to *Medusa*, but first to the *Grea*, which by the mother side were sisters to the *Gorgons*. These *Grea* from their birth were boar-headed, resembling old wo-

men. They had but one only eye, and one tooth among them all, both which, she that had occasion to go abroad, was wont to take with her, and at her return to lay them down again. This eye and tooth they lent to *Perseus*: and so finding himself throughly furnished for the effecting of his design, hastens towards *Medusa*. Her he found sleeping, and yet durst not present himself with his face towards her, least she should awake; but turning his head aside beheld her in *Pallas* glasse; and (by this means directing his blow) cut off her head; from whose blood guthing out, instantly came *Pegasus* the flying horse. Her head thus smote off, *Perseus* bestows on *Pallas* her shield, which yet retained this virtue, that whatsoever looked upon it, should become as stupid as a stone, or like one Planet struck.

This Fable seems to direct the preparation and order, that is to be used in making of War: for the more apt and considerate undertaking whereof, three grave and wholesome precepts (savoring of the wisdome of *Pallas*) are to be observed.

First, That men do not much trouble themselves about the conquest of neighbor Nations, seeing that private possessions, and Empires

Empires are enlarged by different means for in the augmentation of private revenues, the vicinity of mens territories is to be considered: but in the propagation of publick dominions, the occasion and facility of making War, and the fruit to be expected ought to be instead of vicinity. Certainly the Romans, what time their conquests towards the West scarce reacht beyond *Liguria*, did yet in the East bring all the provinces as far as the mountain *Taurus* within the compass of their arms and command: and therefore *Perseus*, although he were bred and born in the East, did not yet refuse to undertake an expedition even to the uttermost bounds of the West.

Secondly, There must be a care had that the Motives of War be just and honorable, for that begets an alacrity, as well in the Souldiers that fight, as in the people that pay, it draws on and procures aides, & brings many other commodities besides. But there is no pretence to take up arms more pious, than the suppressing of *Tyranny*; under which yoke the people loose their courage, and are cast down without heart and vigor, as in the sight of *Medusa*.

Thirdly, It is wisely added, that seeing there were three *Gorgons* (by which wars are

represented) *Perseus* undertook her only that was mortal; that is, he made choice of such a kind of War as was likely to be effected and brought to a period, not pursuing vast and endless hopes.

The furnishing of *Perseus* with necessaries was that which only advanced his attempt, and drew fortune to be of his side: for he had speed from *Mercury*, concealing of his counsels from *Occasion*, and *Providence* from *Pallas*.

Neither is it without an Alegory, and that full of matter too, that those wings of celerity were fastned to *Perseus* his heels, and not to his anckles, to his feet and not to his shoulders, because speed and celerity is required, not so much in the first preparations for War, as in those things which second and yield aid to the first: for there is no errour in War more frequent, than that prosecutions and subsidiary forces do fail to answer the alacrity of the first onsets.

Now for that helmet which *Pluto* gave him, powerfull to make men invisible, the morall is plain: but that two-fold gift of providence (to wit the sheild and looking-glasse) is full of mortality; for that kind of providence which like a shield avoids the force of blows is not alone needfull, but that also

also by which the strength and motions, and counsels of the enemy are discried, as in the looking-glass of *Pallas*.

But *Perseus* albeit he were sufficiently furnished with aid and courage, yet was he to do one thing of special importance before he entred the lists with this Monster, & that was to have some intelligence with the *Grea*. These, *Grea* are treasons which may be termed the Sisters of War, not descended of the same stock, but far unlike in nobilitie of birth; for Wars are generall and heroical, but Treasons are base and ignoble. Their description is elegant, for they are said to be gray-headed, and like old women from their birth, by reason that Traitors are continually vext with cares and trepidations. But all their strength (before they break out into open Rebellions) consists either in an eye or in a tooth; for every faction alienated from any state contemplates and bites. Besides, this eye and tooth is as it were common: for whatsoever they can learn and know is delivered and carried from one to another by the hands of faction. And concerning the tooth, they do all bite alike, and sing the same song, so that hear one, and you hear all. *Perseus* therefore was to deal with these *Grea* for the love of their

eye and tooth. Their eye to discover their tooth to sowe rumours and stir up envy, and to molest and trouble the minds of men. These things therefore being thus disposed and prepared, he addresses himself to the action of War, and sets upon *Medusa* as she slept: for a wise Captain will ever assault his enemie when he is unprepared and most secure, and then is there good use of *Pallas* her Glass: For most men, before it come to the push, can accutely prie into and discern their enemies estate: but the best use of this Glasse is in the very point of danger, that the manner of it may be so considered, as that the terror may not discourage, which is signified by that looking into this Glass with the face turned from *Medusa*.

The Monsters head being cut off, there follow two effects. The first was the procreation and raising of *Pegasus*, by which may be evidently be understood *Fame*, that (flying thorow the world) proclaims victory. The second is the bearing of *Medusaes* head in his shield; to which there is no kind of defence for excellency comparable: for the one famous and memorable Act prosperously effected and brought to pass, doth restrain the motions and insolencies of enemies,

nemies, and makes envy her self silent and amazed.

ENDYMION, or a Favorite.

IT is said that *Luna* was in love with the Shepheard *Endymion*, and in a strange and unwonted manner bewrayed her affection: for he lying in a Cave framed by nature, under the mountain *Latmus*, she oftentimes descended from her sphere to enjoy his company as he slept; and after she had kissed him ascended up again. Yet notwithstanding this his idleness and sleepy security did not any way impair his estate or fortune: for *Luna* brought it so to pass that he alone (of all the rest of the Shepheards) had his flock in best plight, and most fruitfull.

This Fable may have reference to the nature and disposition of Princes; for they being full of doubts and prone to jealousie, do not easily acquaint men of prying and curious eyes, and as it were of vigilant and wakefull dispositions, with the secret humors and manners of their life; but such rather as are of quiet & observant natures, suffering them to do what they list, without further scanning, making as if they were ignorant and perceiving;

ving nothing, but of a ſtupid diſpoſition and poſſeſt with ſleep, yeilding unto them ſimple obedience, rather than ſlie complements: for it pleaſeth Princes now and then to deſcend from their Thrones of Majeſty (like *Luna* from the ſuperior orbe) and laying aſide their Robes of dignity (which always to be cumbred with, would ſeem a kind of burthen) familiarly to converſe with men of this condition, which they think may be done without danger: a quality chiefly noted in *Tyberius Cæſar*; who (of all others) was a Prince moſt ſevere, yet ſuch only were gracious in his favour, as being well acquainted with his diſpoſition, did yet conſtantly diſſemble as if they knew nothing. This was the cuſtome alſo of *Lewis* the eleventh King of *France*, a cautious and wily Prince.

Neither is it without elegancy, that the cauſe of *Endymion* is mentioned in the Fable, becauſe that it is a thing uſual with ſuch as are the favorites of Princes, to have certain pleaſant retiring places, whither to invite them for recreation both of body and mind, and that without hurt or prejudice to their fortunes alſo. And indeed theſe kind of favourites are men commonly well to paſs for Princes although peradventure they promote them

them not ever to places of honour, yet do they advance them sufficiently by their favour and countenance: neither do they affect them thus only to serve their own turn, but are wont to enrich them now and then with great dignities and bounties.

The Sister of the GYANTS, *or Fame.*

IT is a Poetical relation that the Gyants begotten of the Earth made war upon *Jupiter*, and the other gods, and by the force of lightning they were resisted and overthrown. Whereat the earth being excitated to wrath, in revenge of her children brought forth *Fame*, the youngest Sister of the Gyants.

Illam, terra parens ira irritata Deorum
Extremam (ut prohibent) Cæo Enceladoque sororem,
Progenuit. ——

Provok't by wrathfull Gods, the mother Earth
Gives *Fame*, the Giants youngest sister birth.

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The meaning of the Fable seems to be thus: by the Earth is signified the nature of the vulgar, always swoln and malignant, and still broaching new scandals against superiors, and having gotten fit opportunity, stirs up rebels and seditious persons; that with impious courage do molest Princes, and endeavour to subvert their estates; but being suppresst, the same natural disposition of the people still leaning to the viler sort, (being impatient of peace and tranquility) spread rumors, raise malicious slanders, repining whisperings, infamous libels, and others of that kind, to the detraction of them that are in authority: So as rebellious actions, and seditious reports, differ nothing in kind and bloud, but as it were in Sex only; the one sort being Masculine, and the other Feminine.

ACTÆON and PENTHEUS, or a curious Man.

THE curiositie of Men, in prying into secrets, and coveting with an undiscreet desire to attain the knowledge of things forbidden, is set forth by the Ancients in two other examples: the one of *Actaon*, the other of *Pentheus*.

Actaon having unawares, and as it were by chance beheld *Diana* naked, was turned into a Stag, and devoured by his own Dogs.

And *Pentheus* climbing up into a tree, with a desire to be a spectator of the hidden sacrifices of *Bacchus*, was strucken with such a kind of frensic, as that whatsoever he lookt upon, he thought it alwayes double, supposing (among other things) he saw two *Suns*, and two *Thebes*; insomuch that running towards *Thebes*, spying another *Thebes*, instantly turned back again, and so kept still running forward and backward with perpetual unrest.

Eumnidum veluti demens videt agmina Pentheus.

Et Solem geminum, duplices se ostendere Thebas.

Pentheus amaz'd, doth troops of furies spie,
And Sun, and Thebes seem double to his eye.

The first of the Fables pertains to the secrets of Princes, the second to divine mysteries. For those that are neer about Princes, and come to the knowledge of more secrets than they would have them, do certainly incur great hatred. And therefore (suspecting that they are shot at, and opportunities watcht for their overthrow) do lead their lives like Stags, fearful and full of suspition. And it happens oftentimes that their Servants, and those of their household, (to insinuate into the Princes favor) do accuse them to their destruction: for against whomsoever the *Princes* displeasure is known, look how many servants that man hath, and you shall find them for the most part so many traytors unto him, that his end may prove to be like *Actæons*.

The other is the misery of *Penthus*: for that

that by the height of knowledge and nature in Philosophy, having climed, as it were, into a tree, do with rash attempts (unmindfull of their frailty) pry into the secrets of divine mysteries, and are justly plagued with perpetual inconstancy, and with wavering and perplexed conceits: for seeing the light of nature is one thing, and of grace another; it happens so to them as if they saw two *Suns*. And seeing the actions of life, and decrees of will do depend of the understanding, it follows that they doubt, and are inconstant no lesse in will than in opinion; & so in like manner they may be said to see two *Thebes*: for by *Thebes* (seeing there was the habitation and refuge of *Penthens*) is meant the end of actions. Hence it comes to pass that they know not whither they go, but as distracted and unresolved in the scope of their intentions, are in all things carried about with sudden passions of the mind.

ORPHEUS, or Philosophy

THE tale of *Orpheus*, though common, had never the fortune to be fitly applyed in every point. It may seem to represent the Image of Philosophie: for the

person

person of *Orpheus* (a man admirable and divine, and so excellently skilled in all kind of harmonie, that with his sweet ravishing musick he did as it were charm and allure all things to follow him) may carry a singular description of Philosophy: for the labours of *Orpheus* do so far exceed the labours of *Hercules* in dignity and efficacy, as the works of wisdome, excell the works of fortitude.

Orpheus for the love he bare to his wife, snatcht, as it were, from him by untimely death, resolved to go down to Hell with his Harp, to try if he might obtain her of the infernal powers. Neither were his hopes frustrated: for having appeased them with the melodious sound of his voice and touch, prevailed at length so far, as that they granted him leave to take her away with him; but on this condition, that she should follow him, and he not to look back upon her, till he came to the light of the upper World; which he (impatient of, out of love and care, and thinking that he was in a manner past all danger) nevertheless violated, insomuch that the covenant is broken, and she forthwith tumbles back again headlong into hell. From that time *Orpheus* falling into a deep melancholly, became a contemner of women

men kind, and bequeathed himself to a solitary life in the desarts; where, by the same melody of his voyce and harp, he first drew all manner of wild beasts unto him, who (forgetfull of their savage fiercenesse, and casting off the precipitate provocations of lust and fury, not caring to satiate their voracity by hunting after prey) as at a *Theater* in fawning and reconciled amity one towards another, stand all at the gaze about him, and attentively lend their ears to his Musick. Neither is this all; for so great was the power and alluding force of his harmonie, that he drew the woods and moved the very stones to come and place themselves in an orderly and decent fashion about him. These things succeeding happily, and with great admiration for a time; at length certain *Thracian* Women (possest with the spirit of *Bacchus*) made such a horrid and strange noise with their Cornets, that the sound of *Orpheus* harp could no more be heard; insomuch as that harmonie, which was the bond of that order and society being dissolved, all disorder began again; and the beasts (returning to their wonted nature) pursued one another unto death as before: neither did the trees or stones remain any longer in their places: and *Orpheus* himself

self was by these female *Furies* torn in pieces, & scattered all over the desart. For whose cruel death the river *Helicon* (sacred to the Muses) in horrible indignation, hid his head under ground and raised it again in another place.

The meaning of this Fable seems to be thus. *Orpheus*'s Musick is of two sorts, the one appeasing the infernal powers, the other attracting beasts and trees. The first may be fitly applyed to natural philosophy, the second to morall or civill discipline.

The most noble work of natural philosophy, is the restitution and renovation of things corruptible; the other (as a lesser degree of it) the preservation of bodies in their estate, detaining them from dissolution and putrefaction. And if this gift may be done in mortals, certainly it can be done by no other means than by the due and exquisite temper of nature, as by the melody and delicate touch of an instrument. But seeing it is of all things most difficult, it is seldome or never attained unto; and in all likelyhood for no other reason, more than through curious diligence & untimely impatience. And therefore Philosophy hardly able to produce so excellent an effect in a pensive humor, (and that without cause)

buses

busies her self about humane objects, and by perswasion and eloquence, insinuating the love of vertue, equity, and concord in the minds of men; draws multitudes of people to a society, makes them subject to laws, obedient to government, and forgetfull of their unbridled affections, whilst they give ear to precepts, and submit themselves to discipline; whence follows the building of houses, erecting of towns, planting of fields and Orchards, with trees and the like, insomuch that it would not be amisse to say, that even thereby stones, and woods were called together and setled in order. And after serious triall made and fruſtrated about the restoring of a body mortal; this care of civill affairs follows in his due place: because by a plain demonstration of the unevitable necessitie of death mens minds are moved to seek eternity by the fame and glory of their merits. It is also wisely said in the Fable, that *Orpheus* was averse from the love of women and marriage, because the delights of wedlock and the love of children do for the most part hinder men from enterprising great and noble designs for the publick good, holding posteritie a sufficient step to immortality without actions.

Besides even the very works of wisdom,

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(although amongst all humane things they do most excell) do nevertheless meet with their periods. For it happens that (after kingdomes and common weaths have flouri shed for a time) even tumults, and seditions, and wars arise; in the midst of which hurly-burlies, first laws are silent, men return to the pravitie of their natures; fields and towns are wasted and depopulated; and then (if their furie continue) learning and philosophie must needs be dis-membred; so that a few fragments only, and in some places will be found like the scattered boards of shipwrack, so as a barbarous age must follow; and the streams of *Hellicon* being hid under the earth (until the vicissitude of things passing) they break out again and appear in some other remote nation, though not perhaps in the same climate.

COELUM, or Beginnings.

WE have it from the Poets by tradition, that *Cœlum* was the ancientest of the Gods, and that his members of generation were cut off by his son *Saturn*. *Saturn* had many children, but devored them as soon as they were born. *Jupiter* only escap't, who being come to mans estate, thrust

thrust *Saturn* his father into Hell, and so usurped the kingdome. Moreover he pared off his fathers genitals with the same faulchin that *Saturn* dismembred *Cœlum*, and cast them into the Sea, from whence came *Venus*. Not long after this, *Jupiter* (being scarce setled & confirmed in this kingdome) was invaded by two memorable wars. The first of the *Titans*, in the suppressing of which *Sol* (who alone of all the *Titans* favoring *Jupiters* side) took exceeding great pains. The second was of the Giants, whom *Jupiter* himself destroyed with thunderbolts: and so all wars being ended, he reigned secure.

This Fable seems enegmatically to shew from whence all things took their beginning, not much differing from that opinion of Philosophers; which *Democritus* afterwards labored to maintain, attributing eternity to the first Matter, and not to the World. In which he comes somewhat near the truth of divine writ, telling us of a huge deformed Masse, before the beginning of the six days work.

The meaning of the Fable is this; By *Cœlum* may be understood that vast concavity, or vaulted compass that comprehends all matter: and by *Saturn* may be meant the matter

matter it self, which takes from his Parent all power of generating; for the universality or whole bulk of matter alwaies remains the same, neither increasing or diminishing in respect of the quality of its nature: but by the divers agitations and motions of it, were first produced imperfect, and ill agreeing compositions of things, making as it were certain worlds for proofs or assayes, and so in processe of time a perfect fabrick or structure was framed, which should still retain and keep his form. And therefore the government of the first age was shadowed by the kingdome of *Saturn*, who for the frequent dissolutions and short continuances of things was aptly fained to devour his children. The succeeding government was discyphered by the reign of *Jupiter*, who confined those continual mutations unto *Tartarus*, a place signifying perturbation. This place seems to be all that middle place between the lower Superficies of Heaven, and the center of the earth: in which all perturbation and fragility and mortality or corruption are frequent. During the former generation of things in the time of *Saturns* reign, *Venus* was not born: for so long as in the universality of Matter, discord was better and more prevalent than concord, it was necessary that

that there should be a totall dissolution or mutation, and that in the whole fabrick. And by this kind of generation were creatures produced before *Saturn* was deprived of his genitals. When this ceased, that other which was brought by *Venus*, immediately came in, consisting in setled and prevalent concord of things, so that mutation should be only in respect of the parts, the universal fabrick remaining whole and inviolate.

Saturn they say was deposed and cast down into Hell, but not destroyed and utterly extinguisht, because there was an opinion that the world should relapse into the old *Chaos* and *interregnum* again, which *Lucretius* prayed might not happen in his time:

Quod procul à nobis, flectat fortuna gubernans.
Et ratio potius quam res persuadeat ipsa.

Of guiding providence be gracious,
That this Dooms-day be far remov'd from us;
And grant that by us it may be expected,
Rather than on us in our times effected.

for afterward the world should subsist by its own quantity and power. Yet from the beginning there was no rest: for in the celestial Regions there first followed notable mutations, which by the power of the Sun (predominating over superior bodies) were so quieted, that the state of the world should be conserved: and afterward (in inferiour bodies) by the suppressing and dissipating of inundations, tempests, winds, and general earthquakes, a more peacefull and durable agreement and tranquility of things followed. But of this Fable it may conversibly be said, that the Fable contains philosophy, and philosophy again the Fable: For we know by faith, that all these things are nothing else but the long-since ceasing and failing Oracles of Sence, seeing that both the Matter and Fabrick of the World are most truly referred to a Creator.

PROTEUS, or matter.

THE Poets say that *Proteus* was *Neptunes* heard man, a grave Sire, and so excellent a Prophet, that he might well be termed thrice excellent: for he knew not only things to come, but even things past as well as present; so that besides his skill in

divination, he was the messenger and interpreter of all Antiquities and hidden mysteries. The place of his abode was a huge vast Cave, where his custome was every day at noon to count his flock of Sea-calves, and then to go to sleep. Moreover he that desired his advice in any thing, could by no other means obtain it, but by catching him in Manacles, and holding him fast therewith; who nevertheless to be at liberty would turn himself into all manner of forms and wonders of nature; sometimes into fire, sometimes into water, sometimes into the shape of beasts and the like, till at length he were restored to his own form again.

This Fable may seem to unfold the secrets of nature and the properties of *Matter*. For under the person of *Proteus*, the first Matter (which next to God is the ancientest thing) may be represented: for Matter dwels in the concavity of heaven as in a Cave.

He is *Neptunes* bond-man, because the operations and dispensations of Matter are chiefly exercised in liquid bodies.

His flock or heard seems to be nothing but the ordinarie *Species* of sensible creatures, plants and mettals, in which Matter

seems to diffuse and as it were spend it self; so that after the forming and perfecting of these kinds, (having ended as it were her task) she seems to sleep and take her rest, not attempting the composition of any more *Species*. And this may be the Moral of *Proteus* his counting of his flock, and of his sleeping.

Now this is said to be done, not in the morning, nor in the evening, but at noon, to wit, at such time as is most fit and convenient for the perfecting and bringing forth of *Species* out of Matter, duly prepared and predisposed, and in the middle, as it were, between their beginnings and declinations, which we know sufficiently (out of the holy history) to be done about the time of the Creation: for then by the power of that divine word (*Produxat*) *Matter* at the Creators command did congregate it self (not by ambages or turnings, but instantly) to the production of its work into an act and constitution of *Species*. And thus far have we the Narration of *Proteus* (free and unrestrained) together with his flock compleat: for the universality of things with their ordinary structures and compositions of *Species* bears the face of matter not limited and constrained, and of the flock al-

so

so of material beings. Nevertheless, if any expert Minister of Nature, shall encounter Matter by main force, vexing and urging her with intent and purpose to reduce her to nothing; she contrarywise (seeing annihilation and absolute destruction cannot be effected but by the omnipotency of God) being thus caught in the straits of necessity, doth change and turn her self into divers strange forms and shapes of things, so that at length (by fetching a circuit, as it were) she comes to a period, and if (the force continue) betakes her self to her former being. The reason of which constraint or binding will be more facile and expedite, if matter be laid hold on by Manacles, that is, by extremities.

Now whereas it is fained that *Proteus* was a Prophet, well skilled in three differences of times, it hath an excellent agreement with the nature of Matter: for it is necessary that he that will know the properties and proceedings of Matter, should comprehend in his understanding the sum of all things, which have been, which are, or which shall be, although no knowledge can extend so far as to singular and individual beings.

MEMNON, or a youth too forward.

THE Poets say that *Memnon* was the Son of *Aurora*, who (adorned with beautifull armour, and animated with popular applause) came to the *Trojan* war; where (in a rash boldness, hasting unto, and thirsting after glory) he enters into single combate with *Achilles*, the valientest of all the *Grecians*, by whose powerfull hand he was there slain. But *Jupiter* pitying his destruction, sent birds to modulate certain lamentable and dolefull notes at the Solemnization of his funeral obsequies. Whose statue also (the Sun reflecting on it with his morning beams) did usually, as is reported, send forth a mournfull sound.

This Fable may be applyed to the unfortunate destinies of hopefull young men, who like the sons of *Aurora* (puft up with the glittering shew of vanity and ostentation) attempt actions above their strength, and provoke and presse the most valient *Heroes* to combate with them, so that (meeting with their over-match) are vanquished and destroyed, whose untimely death is oft accompanied with much pitty and commiseration.

ration. For among all the disasters that cannot happen to mortals, there is none so lamentable and so powerfull to move compassion as the flower of vertue crop't with too sudden & ill chance. Neither hath it been often known that men in their green years become so loathsome and odious, as that at their deaths either sorrow is stinted, or commiseration moderated: but that lamentation and mourning do not only flutter about their obsequies like those funeral birds, but this pitifull commiseration doth continue for a long space, and especially by occasions and new motions, and beginning of great matters, as it were by the morning rays of the *Sun*, their passions and desires are renewed.

TITHONES, or Satiety.

IT is elegantly fained that *Tithonus* was the paramour of *Aurora*, who (desirous to enjoy his company) petitioned *Jupiter* that he might never dye, but (through womanish oversight) forgetting to insert this clause in her petition, that he might not withall grow old and feeble, it followed, that he was only freed from the condition of mortality; but for old age, that came upon

him in a marvellous and miserable fashion, agreeable to the state of those who cannot dye, yet every day grow weaker and weaker with age. Insomuch that *Jupiter* (in commiseration of that his misery) did at length metamorphose him into a Grashopper.

This Fable seems to be an ingenious Character or description of pleasure, which in the beginning, & as it were in the morning seems to be pleasant and delightfull, that men desire they might enjoy and monopolize it for ever unto themselves, unmindfull of that Satiety and loathing, which (like old age) will come upon them before they be aware. And so at last (when the use of pleasure leaves men, the desire and affection not yet yielding unto death) it comes to passe that men please themselves only by talking and commemorating those things which brought pleasure unto them in the flower of their age, which may be observ'd in libidinous persons, and also in men of military professions; the one delighting in beastly talk, the other boasting of their valorous deeds, like Grashoppers, whose vigour consists only in their voyce.

In

JUNOES SUTOR, or Baseness.

THE Poets say, that *Jupiter*, to enjoy his lustfull delights, took upon him the shape of sundry creatures, as of a Bull, of an Eagle, of a Swan, and of a golden shower: but being a Sutor to *Juno* he came in a form most ignoble and base, an object full of contempt and scorn, resembling indeed a miserable cuckow, weather beaten with rain and tempest, nummed, quaking, and half dead with cold.

This Fable is wise and seems to be taken out of the bowels of morality; the sence of it being this, That men boast not too much of themselves, thinking by ostentation of their own worth to insinuate themselves into estimation and favour with men, the successe of such intentions being for the most part measured by the nature and disposition of those to whom men sue for grace: who if of themselves they be endowed with no gifts and ornaments of nature, but are only of haughty and malignant spirits (intimated by the person of *Juno*) then are Sutors to know that it is good policy to omit all kind of appearance that may any way shew their own

least praise or worth, and that they much deceive themselves in taking any other course. Neither is it enough to shew deformity in obsequiousnesse, unless they also appeare even abject and base in their very persons.

CUPID, or an Atome.

THat which the Poets say of *Cupid* or *Love* cannot properly be attributed to one and the self same person; and yet the difference is such, that (by rejecting the confusion of persons) the similitude may be received.

They say that *Love* is the ancientest of all the gods, and of all things else except *Chaos*, which they hold to be a cotemporary with it. Now as touching *Chaos*, that by the Antients was never dignified with divine honour, or with the title of the god. And as for *Love*, they absolutely bring him in without a father; only some are of opinion, that he came of an Egge that was laid by *Nox*, and that on *Chaos* he begot the gods and all things else. There are four things attributed unto him, perpetual infancy, blindnesse, nakednesse, and an Archery. There was also another *Love*, which was the young-

er

est of the gods, and he, they say, was the Son of *Venus*. On this also they bestow the attributes of the elder *Love*, as in some sort well apply unto him.

This Fable tends and looks to the Cradle of *Nature*, *Love* seeming to be the appetite or desire of the first matter, or (to speak more plain) the natural motion of the *Atoms*, which is that ancient and only power that forms and fashions all things out of Matter, of which there is no Parent, that is to say, no cause, seeing every cause is as a Parent to its effect. Of this power or vertue there can be no cause in Nature (as for *God*, we alwaies except him) for nothing was before it, and therefore no efficient cause of it. Neither was there any thing better known to nature, and therefore neither *Genus* nor *Form*. Wherefore whatsoever it is, positive it is, & but inexpressible. Moreover, if the manner & proceeding of it were to be conceived, yet could it not be by any cause, seeing that (next unto God) it is the cause of causes, it self only without any cause. And perchance there is no likelyhood, that the manner of it may be contained or comprehended within the narrow compass of human search. Not without reason therefore it is fained to come of an Egge which was

layed

layed by *Nox*. Certainly the divine Philosopher grants so much: *Eccl.* 3. 11. *Cuncta fecit tempestatibus suis pulchra, & mundum tradidit disputationibus eorum, ita tamen ut non inveniat homo opus, quod operatus est Deus, principio ad finem.* That is, he hath made every thing beautifull in their seasons, also he hath set the world in their meditations; yet man cannot find the work that God hath wrought, from the beginning even to the end. For the principal Law of nature, or power of this desire, created (by God) in these parcels of things, for concurring and meeting together (from whose repetitions and multiplications, all variety of creatures proceeded and were composed) may dazzle the eyes of mens understandings, and comprehended it can hardly be. The Greek Philosophers are observed to be very acute and diligent in seaching out the material principles of things: but in the beginnings of motion (wherein consists all the efficacy of operation) they are negligent and weak, and in this that we handle, they seem to be altogether blind and stammering: for the opinion of the *Peripatetiks* concerning the appetite of Matter caused by privation, is in a manner nothing else but words, which rather sound then signifie any reality. And those:

those that refer it unto God do very well, but then they leap up, they ascend not by degrees: for doubtless there is one cheif Law subordinate to God, in which all natural things concur and meet, the same that in the fore-cited Scripture is demonstrated in these words, *Opus, quod operatus est Deus à principio usque ad finem*, the work that God hath wrought from the begining even to the end. But *Democritus* which entred more deeply into the consideration of this point after he had conceived an *Atome* with some small dimension and form, he attributed unto it one onely desire, or first motion simply or absolutely, and another comparatively or in respect: for he thought that all things did properly tend to the center of the world, whereof those bodies which were more material descend with swifter motion, & those that had less matter did on the contrary tend upward. But this meditation was very shallow, containing lesse then was expedient: for neither the turning of the celestial bodies in a round, nor shutting and opening of things may seem to be reduced or applied to this begining. And as for that opinion of *Epicurus* concerning the casual declination and agitation of the *Atome*, it is but a mere toy; and a plain evidence, that he was ignorant

of

of that point. It is therefore more apparent (than we could wish) that this *Cupid* or *Love* remains as yet clouded under the shades of *Night*. Now as concerning his attributes: He is elegantly described with perpetual infancie or childhood, because compound bodies they seem greater and more stricken in years: Whereas the first seeds of things or *Atoms*, they are little and diminute, and alwayes in their infancie.

He is also well fained to be naked; because all compound bodies to a man rightly judging, seem to be apparelled and clothed, and nothing to be properly naked but the first particles of things.

Concerning his blindness, the Allegory is full of wisdome: for this *Love* or Desire (whatsoever it be) seems to have but little providence, as directing his pace & motion by that which it perceives nearest, not unlike blind men that go by feeling. More admirable then, must that chief divine providence be, which (from things empty & destitute of providence, and as it were blind) by a constant and fatal law produceth so excellent an order and beauty of things.

The last thing which is attributed unto *Love* is *Archery*, by which is meant, that his vertue is such, as that it works upon a distant

object:

object: because that whatsoever operates a far off, seems to shoot, as it were, an arrow. Wherefore whosoever holds the being both of *Atomes* and *Vacuity*, must needs infer, that the vertue of the *Atome* reacheth to a distant object: for if it were not so, there could be no motion at all, by reason of the interposition of *Vacuity*, but all things would stand stone still, and remain immoveable.

Now as touching that other *Cupid* or *Love*; he may well be termed the youngest of the gods, because he could have no being, before the constitution of *Species*: And in his description the Allegory may be applied and traduced to manners: Nevertheless he holds some kind of conformity with the Elder: For *Venus* doth generally stir up a desire of conjunction and procreation, and *Cupid* her son doth apply this desire to some individual nature; so that the general disposition comes from *Venus*, the more exact sympathy from *Cupid*; the one derived from causes more near, the other from beginnings more remote and fatal, and as it were from the elder *Cupid*, of whom every exquisite sympathy doth depend.

DIO-

DIOMEDES, or Zeal.

Diomedes flourishing with great fame and glory in the *Trojan* wars, and in high favour with *Pallas* was by her instigated (being indeed forwarder than he should have been) not to forbear *Venus* a jot, if he encountered with her in fight; which very boldly he performed, wounding her in the right arme. This presumptuous fact he carried clear for a while, and being honored and renowned for his many heroick deeds; at last returned into his own Countrey, where finding himself hard bestead with domestick troubles, fled into *Italy*, betaking himself to the protection of Forreiners, where in the beginning he was fortunate and royally entertained by King *Daunus* with sumptuous gifts, raising many statues in honour of him throughout his Dominions. But upon the very first calamity that happened unto this nation whereunto he was fled for succor, King *Daunus* enters into a conceit with himself that he had entertained a wicked guest into his family, and a man odious to the goddess, and an impugner of their Divinity, that had dared with his sword to assault and wound that Goddesse, who in their Religion they held

held it sacriledge so much as to touch. Therefore, that he might expiate his Countreys guilt, (nothing respecting the duties of hospitality, when the bonds of Religion tied him with a more reverend regard) suddenly slew *Diomedes*, commanding withall that his trophies and statues should be abolished and destroyed. Neither was it safe to lament this miserable destiny; But even his companions in arms, whilst they mourned at the funeral of their Captain, and fill'd all the places with plaints and lamentations, were suddenly metamorphosed into birds like unto Swans, who when their death approacheth, sing mellodious and mournful hymnes.

This fable hath a most rare and singular subject: for in any of the Poetical records, wherein the *Heroes* are mentioned, we find not that any one of them, besides *Diomedes*, did ever with his sword offer violence to any of the *Deities*. And indeed, the Fable seems in him to represent the nature and fortune of man, who of himself, doth propound and make this as the end of all his actions, to worship some divine power, or to follow some sect of Religion, though never so vain and superstitious, and with force and arms to defend the same: For although those bloudy

dy quarrels for Religion were unknowne to Ancients, (the heathen gods not having so much as a touch of that jealousie, which is an attribute of the true God) yet the wisdome of the ancient times seem to be so copious and full, as that, what was not known by experience, was yet comprehended by meditation and fictions. They then that endeavour to reform and convince any sect of Religion, (though vain, corrupt, and infamous, shadowed by the person of *Venus*) not by the force of argument and doctrine, and holiness of life, and by the weight of examples and authority, but labour to extirpate and root it out by fire and sword, and tortures, are incouraged, it may be, thereunto by *Pallas*, that is by the acrity of *Prudence* and severity of judgement, by whose vigor and efficacy, they see into the falsity & vanity of these errours. And by this their hatred of pravity, and good zeal to Religion, they purchase to themselves great glory, and by the vulgar (to whom nothing moderate can be grateful) are esteemed and honored as the only supporters of truth and religion, when others seem to be luke-warm and full of fear. Yet this glory and happiness doth seldome endure to the end, seeing every violent prosperity, if it prevent not alteration

by an untimely death, grows to be unprosperous at last: For if it happen that by a change of government this banished and depressed Sect get strength, and so bear up again, then these zealous men so fierce in opposition before, are condemned, their very names are hatefull, and all their glory ends in obliquie.

In that *Diomedes* is said to be murthered by his hoast, it gives us to understand that the difference of religion breeds deceit and treacherie, even among nearest acquaintance.

Now in that lamentation and mourning was not tollerated but punished; it putteth in mind, that let there be never so nefarious an act done, yet there is some place left for commiseration and pity, that even those that hate offences, should yet in humanity commiserate offenders, and pity their distress, it being the extremity of evill when Mercy is not suffered to have commerce with misery. Yea even in the cause as well of religion as impiety, many men may be noted and observed to have been compassionate. But on the contrary the complaints and moans of *Diomedes* followers, that is, of men of the same sect and opinion, are wont to be shrill and loud, like Swans, or

the

the birds of *Diomedes*. In whom also that part of the allegory is excellent to signifie that the last words of those that suffer death for religion, like the songs of dying Swans, do wonderfully work upon the minds of men and strike and remain a long time in their sences and memories.

DÆDALUS, or *Mechanick*.

MEchanical wisdome and industry, and in it unlawfull science perverted to wrong ends, is shadowed by the Ancients under the person of *Dædalus*, a man ingenious, but execrable. This *Dædalus* (for murthering his fellow servant that emulated him) being banished, was kindly entertained (during his exile) in many Cities, and Princes Courts: for indeed he was the raiser and builder of many goodly structures, as well in honour of the gods, as the beauty and magnificence of Cities, and other publick places: but for his works of mischief he is most notorious. It is he which framed that engine which *Pasiphae* used to satisfie her lust in companying with a Bull; so that by this his wretched industrie, and pernicious device, that Monster *Minotaur* (the destruction of so many hopefull youths) took his accursed and infamous beginning, and studying to

cover and increase one mischief with another; for the security and preservation of this Monster he invented and built a Labyrinth, a work for intent and use most nefarious and wicked, for skill and workmanship famous and excellent. Afterward that he might not be noted only for works of mischief, but be sought after as well for remedies, as for instruments of destruction, he was the Authour of that ingenious, device concerning the clue of thread, by which the Labyrinth was made passable without any let. This *Dædalus* was persecuted by *Minos* with great severity, diligence and inquiry, but he always found the means to avoid and escape his tyranny. Lastly he taught his son *Icarus* to flie, but the novice in ostentation of his art soaring too high, fell into the Sea and was drowned.

The Parable seems to be thus: in the beginning of it may be noted that kind of envy or emulation that lodgeth and wonderfully swaies and domineers amongst excellent artificers, there being no kind of people more reciprocally tormented with bitter and deadly hatred than they.

The banishment also of *Dædalus* (a punishment inflicted on him against the rules of policie and providence) is worth the noting:

ting: for Artificers have this prerogative to find entertainment and welcome in all Countries, so that exile to an excellent workman can hardly be termed a punishment, whereas other conditions and states of life can scarce live out of their own Country. The admiration of Artificers is propagated and increast in forraign and strange nations, seeing it is a natural and inbred disposition of men to value their own country-men (in respect of Mechanical works) lesse than strangers.

Concerning the use of Mechanical Arts, that which follows is plain. The life of man is much beholding to them, seeing many things (conducing to the ornament of Religion, to the grace of civill discipline, and to the beautifying of all humane kind) are extracted out of their treasuries: and yet notwithstanding from the same *Magazine* or storehouse are produced instruments both of lust and death: for to omit the wiles of bands, we well know how far exquisite poysons, warlike engines, and such like mischiefs (the effects of Mechanical inventions) do exceed the *Minotaur* himself in malignity and savage cruelty.

Moreover that of the *Labyrinth* is an excellent Allegory, whereby is shadowed the nature

nature of Mechanical sciences; for all such handy craft works as are more ingenious and accurate, may be compared to a Labyrinth in respect of subtilty and divers intricate passages, and in other plain resemblances; which by the eye of judgement can hardly be guided and discerned, but only by the line of experience.

Neither is it impertinently added, that he which invented the intricate nooks of the Labyrinth, did also shew the commodity of the clue: For Mechanical Arts are of ambiguous use, serving as well for hurt as for remedy, and they have in a manner power both to loose and bind themselves.

Unlawfull trades, and so by consequence Arts themselves, are often persecuted by *Moses*, that is by laws, which do condemn them and prohibite men to use them. Nevertheless they are hid and retained every where, finding lurking holes, & places of resort, which was well observed by *Tacitus* of the Mathematicians & figure flingers of his time in a thing not so much unlike; *Genus* (inquit) *hominum quod in civitate nostra potentiam & retinebitur & vetabitur*. There is a kind of men (saith he) that will alwaies abide in our City though alwaies forbidden, and yet notwithstanding unlawfull and

curious

curious arts of what kind soever, in tract of time, when they cannot perform what they promise, do fall from the good opinion that was held of them (no otherwise than *Icarus* fell down from the skies) they grow to be contemned and scorned, and so perish by too much ostentation. And to say the truth, they are not so happily restrained by the reins of Law, as bewrayed by their own vanity.

ERICTHONIUS. or Imposture.

THE Poets fable that *Vulcan* sollicited *Minerva* for her Virginity, and impatient of denial with an inflamed desire offered her violence, but in strugling his seed fell upon the ground, whereof came *Erictonius*, whose body from the middle upward, was of a comely and apt proportion, but his thighs and legs like the tail of an Eel, small and deformed. To which Monstrosity he being conscious, became the first inventor of the use of Chariots, whereby that part of his body which was well proportioned might be seen, and the other which was ugly and uncomely might be hid.

This strange and prodigious fiction may seem to shew that art which (for the grea

use it hath of fire) is shadowed by *Vulcan*; although it labour by much striving with corporeal substances to force nature, and to make her subject to it (the being for her industrious works rightly represented by *Mind*) yet seldome or never attains the end it aims at, but with much ado and great pains (wrestling as it were with her) comes short of its purpose, and produceth certain imperfect births and lame works, fair to the eye, but weak and defective in use, with many Impostors (with much subtilty and deceit) set to view, and carry about, as it were, in triumph, as may for the most part be noted in Chymical productions, and other Mechanical subtilties and novelties, especially when (rather prosecuting their intent, than declining their errours) they rather strive to overcome nature by force, than sue for her embracements by due obsequiousness and observance.

DEUCALION, or Restitution.

THE Poets say, that (the people of the old world being destroyed by a general deluge) *Deucalion* and *Pirrha* were only left alive; who praying with fervant and zealous devotion, that they might know by

what means to repair mankind; had answer from an Oracle that they should obtain what they desired, if taking the bones of their mother they cast them behind their backs, which at first struck them with great amazement and despair, seeing (all things being defaced by the flood) it would be an endless work to find their mothers sepulchre, but at length they understood that by bones the stones of the earth (seeing the earth was the mother of all things) were signified by the Oracle.

This Fable seems to reveal a secret of Nature, and to correct an errour familiar to mens conceits: for through want of knowledge, men think that things may take renovation and restauration from their putrefaction and dregs, no otherwise than the *Phœnix* from the ashes, which in no case can be admitted, seeing such kind of materials, when they have fulfilled their periods, are unapt for the beginnings of such things: we must therefore look back to more common principles.

NE-

NEMESIS, or the Vicissitude of things.

Nemesis is said to be a goddesse venerable unto all, but to be feared of none but potentates and fortunes favorites. She is thought to be the daughter of *Oceanus* and *Nox*. She is purtrayed with wings on her shoulders, and on her head a Coronet; bearing in her right hand a javelin of Ash, and in her left a Pitcher with the similitudes of *Æthiopians* engraven on it: and lastly she is described sitting on a Hart.

The Parable may be thus unfoldded. Her name *Nemesis* doth plainly signifie Revenge or Retribution, her office and administration being (like a Tribune of the people) to hinder the constant and perpetual felicity of happy men, and to interpose her word, *veto*, I forbid the continuance of it, that is, not only to chastice insolency, but to intermix prosperity (though harmlesse and in a mean) with the vicissitudes of adversity, as if it were a custome, that no mortall man should be admitted to the Table of the gods but for sport. Truly when I read that Chapter, wherein *Caius Plinius* hath collected his misfortunes and miseries of *Augustus Cæsar*,

whom of all men I thought the most happy, who had also a kind of Art to use and enjoy his fortune, and in whose mind might be noted neither pride, nor lightnesse, nor niceness, nor disorder, nor melancholly (as that he had appointed a time to dye of his own accord) I then deemed this Goddesse to be great and powerfull, to whose altar so worthy a Sacrifice as this was drawn.

The Parents of this Goddesse were *Oceanus* and *Nox*; that is, the vicissitude of things and divine judgement obscure and secret: for the alteration of things are aptly represented by the Sea, in respect of the continual ebbing and flowing of it: and hidden providence is well set forth by the Night: for even the Nocturnal *Nemesis* (seeing humane judgement differs much from divine) was seriously observed by the heathen.

Virgil Æneid. lib. 2.

—Cadit & Riphæus justissimus unus,
Qui fuit ex Teucris, & servantissimus æqui.
Diis aliter visum——

That

That day by Greekish force was Ripheus slain,
So just and strict observer of the Law,
As Troy within her walls did not contain
A better man: Yet God then good it saw.

She is described with wings, because the changes of things are so sudden, as that they are seen, before foreseen: for in the Records of all ages, we find it for the most part true, that great Potentates, and wise men have perished by those misfortunes which they most contemned; as may be observed in *Marcus Cicero*, who being admonished by *Decius Brutus* of *Octavius Cæsars* hipocritical friendship and hollow heartedness towards him, returns this answer, *Te autem, mi Brute, sicut debio, amo, quod istud quicquid est nugarum me scire voluisti.* I must ever acknowledge my self (*Dear Brutus*) beholding to thee, in love, for that thou hast been so carefull to acquaint me with that which I esteem but as a needless trifle to be doubted.

Nemesis is also adorned with a Coronet, to shew the envious and malignant disposition of the vulgar, for when fortunes favorites and great potentates come to ruine, then do the common people rejoyce, setting as it were a crown upon the head of revenge.

The Javelin in her right hand points at those whom she actually strikes and pierceth thorow.

And before those, whom she destroyes not in their calamity & misfortune, she ever presents that black and dismall spectacle in her left hand: for questionlesse to men sitting as it were upon the pinacle of prosperity, the thoughts of death and painfulnesse of sickness and misfortunes, perfidiousness of friends, treacherie of foes, change of state, and such like, seem as ugly to the eye of their meditations, as those *Erhiopians* pictured in *Nemesis* her Pitcher. *Virgil* in describing the battell of *Actium*, speaks thus elegantly of *Cleopatra*.

Regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina sistro,
Nec dum etiam geminos a tergo respicit anguis.

The

The Queen amidst this hurly-burly stands,
And with her Countrey Timbrell calls her bands,
Nor spying yet where crawl'd behind her back
Two deadly Snakes with venom speckled back.

But not long after, which way soever she turned, troops of *Ethiopians* were still before her eyes.

Lastly, It is wisely added, that *Nemesis* rides upon an *Hart*, because a *Hart* is a most lively creature. And albeit, it may be, that such as are cut off by death in their youth prevent and shun the power of *Nemesis*; yet doubtlesse such, whose prosperity and power continue long, are made subject unto her, and lye as it were trodden under her feet.

ACHELOUS, or Water.

IT is a Fable of antiquity, that when *Hercules* and *Achelous* as Rivals contended for the marriage of *Deianira*, the matter drew them to combate, wherein *Achelous*

took upon him many diverse shapes, for so was it in his power to do, and amongst others, transforming himself into the likeness of a furious wilde Bull, assaults *Hercules*, and provokes him to fight. But *Hercules*, for all this, sticking to his old humane form, couragiously encounters him, and to the Combate goes roundly on. But this was the event, that *Hercules* tore away one of the Buls horns, wherewith he being mightily daunted and grieved, to ransome his horn again, was contented to give *Hercules* in exchange thereof, the *Amalthean* horn, or *Cornu Copiæ*.

This Fable hath relation unto the expeditions of war, for the preparations thereof on the defensive part (which expresst in the person of *Achelous*) is very diverse and uncertain. But the invading party is most commonly of one sort, and that very single, consisting of an army by land, or perhaps of a Navy by Sea. But for a King that in his own Territorie expects an enemie, his occasions are infinite. He fortifies Towns, he assemblies men out of the Countreys and villages, he raiseth Citadels, he builds and breaks down Bridges, he disposeth Garrisons, and placeth troops of Souldiers on passages of Rivers, on Ports, on Mountains, and ambushes

ambushes in Woods, and is busied with a multitude of other directions, insomuch that every day he prescribeth new forms and orders; and then at last having accomodated all things compleat for defence, he then rightly represents the form and manner of a fierce fighting Bull. On the other side, the invader his greatest care is, the fear to be distressed for victuals in an Enemy-Country. And therefore affects chiefly to hasten on battell: for if it should happen that after a field fought, he prove the Victor, and as it were, break the horn of the enemy, then certainly this follows that *his* enemy being stricken with terror, and abased in his reputation, presently bewrays his weakness, and seeking to repair his loss, retires himself to some strong hold, abandoning to the Conquerour the spoil and sack of his Countrey and Cities: which may well be termed a type of the *Amalthean* horn.

DIONYSUS, or Passion.

THEY say that *Semele*, *Jupiters* Sweetheart (having bound her Paramour by an irrecoverable oath to grant her one request which she would require) desired that he would accompany her in the same form,

wherein he accompanied *Juno*: which he granting (as not able to deny) it came to pass that the miserable wench was burnt with lightning. But the infant which she bare in her womb, *Jupiter* the Father took out, and kept it in a gash which he cut in his thigh, till the months were compleat that it should be born. This burden made *Jupiter* somwhat to limp, whereupon the child (because it was heavy and troublesome to its Father, while it lay in his thigh) was called *Dionysus*. Being born, it was committed to *Proserpina* for some years to be nurst, and being grown up, it had such a maiden-face, as that a man could hardly judge whether it were a boy or a girl. He was dead also, and buried for a time, but afterward revived. Being but a youth, he invented and taught the planting and dressing of Vines, the making also, and use of wine, for which becoming famous and renowned; he subjugated the World even to the uttermost bounds of *India*. He rode in a Chariot drawn with *Tygers*. There danc't about him certain deformed hobgoblins called *Cobali*, *Asyrani*, & others, yea even the Muses also were some of his followers. He took to wife *Ariadne*, forsaken and left by *Theseus*. The tree sacred unto him was the *Ivie*. He was held the

inventor and institutor of Sacrifices, and Ceremonies, and full of corruption and cruelty. He had power to strike men with fury or madness; for it is reported, that at the celebration of his Orgies, two famous worthies, *Pentheus* and *Orpheus* were torn in pieces by certain frantick women, the one because he got upon a tree to behold their ceremonies in these sacrifices, the other for making melody with his harp. And for his gests, they are in manner the same with *Jupiters*.

There is such excellent morality couched in this Fable, as that Morall philosophy affords not better: for under the person of *Bacchus* is described the nature of affection, passion, or perturbation, the mother of which (though never so hurtfull) is nothing else but the object of apparent good in the eyes of Appetite. And it is always conceived in an unlawfull desire rashly propounded and obtained, before well understood and considered; and when it begins to grow, the Mother of it, which is the desire of apparent good by too much fervency, is destroyed and perisheth: Nevertheless (whilst yet it is an imperfect *Embrio*) it is nourished & preserved in the humane soul, (which is as it were a father unto it, and represented by *Jupiter*)

but

but especially in the inferiour part thereof, as in a thigh, where also it causeth so much trouble and vexation, as that good determinations and actions are much hindred and lamed thereby, and when it comes to be confirmed by consent and habite, and breaks out, as it were, into act, it remains yet a while, with *Proserpina* as with a Nurse, that is, it seeks corners and secret places, and as it were, caves under ground, untill (the reins of shame and fear being laid aside in a pampered audaciousnesse) it either takes the pretext of some vertue, or becomes altogether impudent and shameless. And it is most true, that every vehement passion is of a doubtfull sex, as being masculine in the first motion, but feminine in prosecution.

It is an excellent fiction that of *Bacchus* his reviving: for passions do sometimes seem to be in a dead sleep, and as it were utterly extinct, but we should not think them to be so indeed, no, though they lay, as it were, in their grave; for, let there be but matter and opportunitie offered, and you shall see them quickly to revive again.

The invention of Wine is wittily ascribed unto him; every affection being ingenious and skilfull in finding out that which brings

brings nourishment unto it; And indeed of all things known to men, Wine is most powerfull and efficacious to excite, and kindle passions of what kind soever, as being in a manner common Nurse to them all.

Again his conquering of Nations, and undertaking infinite expeditions is an elegant device; for desire never rests content with what it hath, but with an infinite and unsatiable appetite still covets and gapes after more.

His Chariot also is well said to be drawn by *Tygers*; for as soon as any affection shall from going afoot, be advanced to ride in a Chariot, and shall captivate reason, and lead her in a triumph, it grows cruel, untamed, and fierce against whatsoever withstands or opposeth it.

It is worth the noting also, that those ridiculous bobgoblins are brought in, dancing about his Chariot; for every passion doth cause, in the eyes, face and gesture, certain undecent, and ill-seeming, apish, and deformed motions, so that they who in any kind of passion, as in anger, arrogancy or love, seem glorious and brave in their own eyes, do yet appear to others mis-shapen and ridiculous.

In that the Muses are said to be of his com-

company, it shews that there is no affection almost which is not soothed by some Art, wherein the indulgence of wits doth derogate from the glory of the Muses, who (when they ought to be the mistresses of life) are made the waiting-maids of affections.

Again, where *Bacchus* is said to have loved *Ariadne*, that was rejected by *Theseus*; it is an Allegory of special observation: for it is most certain, that passions alwaies covet and desire that which experience forsakes, and they all know (who have paid dear for serving and obeying their lusts) that whether it be honour, or riches, or delight, or glory, or knowledge, or any thing else which they seek after, yet are they but things cast off, and by divers men in all ages, after experience had, utterly rejected and loathed.

Neither is it without a mystery, that the *Ivie* was sacred to *Bacchus*: for the application holds, first, in that the *Ivie* remains green in winter. Secondly in that it sticks too, embraceth, and overtoppeth so many diverse bodies, as trees, walls, and edifices. Touching the first, every passion doth by resistance and reluctation, and as it were, by an *Antiperistasis* (like the *Ivie* of the cold of winter

winter grow fresh and lustie. And as for the other, every predominate affection doth again (like the *Ivie*) imbrace and limit all humane actions and determinations, adhering and cleaving fast unto them.

Neither is it a wonder, that superstitious rites and ceremonies were attributed unto *Bacchus*, seeing every giddie headed humor keeps in a manner Revel-rout in false religions: or that the cause of madness should be ascribed unto him, seeing every affection is by nature a short fury, which (if it grow vehement, and become habitual) concludes madnesse.

Concerning the rending and dismembring of *Pentheus* and *Orpheus*, the parable is plain, for every prevalent affection is outragious and severe and against curious inquiry, and wholesome and free admonition.

Lastly, that confusion of *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, their persons may be well transferred to a parable, seeing noble and famous acts, and remarkable and glorious merits, do sometimes proceed from vertue, and well ordered reason, and magnanimity, and sometimes from a secret affection, and hidden passion, which are so dignified with the eternity of fame and glory, that a man can

hardly

hardly distinguish between the acts of *Bacchus*, and the gests of *Jupiter*.

ATALANTA, or Gain.

Atalanta, who was reputed to excell in swiftnesse, would needs challenge *Hippomenes* at a match in running. The condition of the Price were these: That if *Hippomenes* won the race, he should espouse *Atalanta*; If he were out-run, that then he should forfeit his life. And in the opinion of all, the victorie was thought assured of *Atalanta's* side, being famous as she was for her matchlesse and inconquerable speed, whereby she had been the bane of many. *Hippomenes* therefore bethinks him, how to deceive her by a trick, and in that regard provides three golden apples or balls which he purposely carried about him. The race is begun, and *Atalanta* gets a good start before him. He seeing himself thus cast behind, being mindfull of his device, throws one of his golden balls before her, and yet not outright, but somewhat of the one side, both to make her linger, and also to draw her out of the right course: she out of a womanish desire, (being thus enticed with the beauty of the golden apple) leaving her direct race, runs aside and stoops to catch the ball; *Hipomenes*,

the

the while holds on his course, getting there by a great start, and leaves her behind him; But she by her own natural swiftnesse, recovers her lost time and gets before him again. But *Hippomenes* still continues his sleight, and both the second and third times cast out his balls, those enticing delays; and so by craft and not by his activity wins the race and victory.

This Fable seems allegorically to demonstrate a notable conflict between Art and Nature: for Art (signified by *Atalanta*) in its work (if it be not letted and hindred) is far more swift than Nature, more speedy in pace, and sooner attains the end it aims at, which is manifest almost in every effect: As you may see in fruit-trees, whereof those that grow of a kernell are long e're they bear, but such as are grafted on a stock a great deal sooner. You may see it in Clay, which in the generation of stones, is long ere it become hard, but in the burning of bricks, it very quickly effected. Also in morall passages you may observe that it is a long time e're (by the benefit of Nature) sorrow can be asswaged, and comfort attained, whereas *Philosophy* (which is, as it were, art of living) carries not the leisure of time, but doth it instantly, and out of hand;

hand; And yet this prerogative and singular agility of Art is hindred by certain golden apples, to the infinite prejudice of humane proceedings: for there is not any one *Art* or *Science* which constantly preserves in a true and lawfull course, till it come to the proposed end or mark: but ever and anon makes stops, after good beginnings, leaves the race, and turns aside to profit and commodity, like *Atalanta*.

Declinat cursus, aurumque volubile tollit.

Who doth her course forsake,
The rolling gold to take.

And therefore it is no wonder that Art hath not the power to conquer Nature, and by pact of law of conquest, to kill and destroy her; but on the contrary, it falls out, that Art becomes subject to Nature, and yields the obedience, as of a wife to her husband.

PRO-

PROMETHEUS, or the State of man.

THE Ancients deliver, that *Prometheus* made a man of Clay, mixt with certain parcels taken from divers animales, who studying to maintain this his work by Art, (that he might not be accounted a founder only, but a propagatour of humane kind) stole up to heaven with a bundle of twigs, which he kindled at the Chariot of the Sun, came down again, and communicated it with men: And yet they say, that notwithstanding this excellent work of his) he was requited with ingratitude, in a treacherous conspiracy: For they accused both him and his invention to *Jupiter*, which was not so taken as was meet it should, for the information was pleasing to *Jupiter* and all the gods. And therefore in a merry mood, granted unto men, not only the use of fire, but perpetual youth also, a boone most acceptable, and desirable. They being, as it were, overjoyed, did foolishly lay this gift of the gods upon the back of an Asse, who being wonderfully oppresst with thirst, and near a fountain, was told by a Serpent (which had the custody thereof) that he should not drink,

drink, unless he would promise to give him the burden that was on his back. The silly Asse accepted the condition, and so the restauration of youth (sold for a draught of water) past from Men to Serpents. But *Prometheus* full of malice, being reconciled unto men, after they were frustrated of their gift, but in a chase yet with *Jupiter*, feared not to use deceit in Sacrifice: for having killed two Buls, and in one of their hides wrapt up the flesh and fat of them both, and in the other only the bones, with a great shew of religious devotion, gave *Jupiter* his choise, who (detesting his fraud and hypocrisie, but taking an occasion of revenge) chose that which was stopt with bones, and so turning to revenge (when he saw that the insolency of *Prometheus* would not be represt, but by laying some grievous affliction upon mankind, in the forming of which, he so much bragged and boasted) commanded *Vulcan*, to frame a goodly beautifull woman, which being done, every one of the gods bestowed a gift on her; whereupon she was called *Pandora*. To this woman they gave in her hand, a goodlie Box, full of all miseries and calamities, only in the bottome of it, they put *Hope*, with this Box she comes first to *Prometheus*, thinking to catch

him,

him, if peradventure, he should accept it at her hands, and so open it: which he nevertheleſſe, with good providence and foreſight refuſed. Whereupon ſhe goes to *Epimetheus* (who, though brother to *Prometheus*, yet was of a much differing diſpoſition) and offers this Box unto him, who, without delay took it, and raſhly opened it; but when he ſaw that all kind of miſeries came fluttering about his ears, being wiſe too late, with great ſpeed and earneſt endeavour, clapt on the cover, and ſo with much ado retained *Hope* ſitting alone in the bottome. At laſt *Jupiter* laying many and grievous crimes to *Prometheus* his charge (as that he had ſtolne fire from heaven, that in contempt of his Majeſtie, he ſacrificed a Buls hide ſtuft with bones, that he ſcornfully rejected his gift, and beſides all this that he offered violence to *Pallas*) caſt him into chains, and doom'd him to perpetual torment: and by *Jupiters* command, was brought to the mountain *Caucaſus*, and there bound faſt to a pillar that he could not ſtir; there came an Eagle alſo, that every day ſate tyring upon his liver, and gnawed it, but as much as was eaten in the day, grew again in the night, that matter for torment to work upon might never decay. But yet they ſay there was an end of this puniſhment:

nishment: for *Hercules* crossing the Ocean in a Cup, which the Sun gave him, came to *Caucasus*, and set *Prometheus* at liberty, by shooting the Eagle with an arrow. Moreover in some nations there were instituted in the honour of *Prometheus*, certain games of Lampbearers, in which they that strived for the prize, were wont to carrie torches lighted: which, who so suffered to go out, yielded the place and victorie to those that followed, and so cast back themselves, so that whosoever came first to the marke with his torch burning, got the prize.

This Fable demonstrates and presseth many true and grave speculations, wherein some things have been heretofore well noted, others not so much as touched.

Prometheus doth clearly and elegantly signifie *Providence*: For in the Universality of Nature, the Fabrick and constitution of Man only was by the Ancients picked out and chosen, and attributed unto *Providence*, as a peculiar work. The reason of it seems to be, not only in that the nature of man is capable of a mind and understanding, which is the seat of *Providence*, and therefore it would seem strange and incredible that the reason and mind should

so proceed and flow from slumber and dead principles, as that it should necessarily be concluded, the soul of man to be indued with Providence, not without the example, intention, & stamp of a greater providence. But this also is chiefly propounded, that man is as it were, the center of the world, in respect of final causes, so that if man were not in nature, all things would seem to stray and wander without purpose, and like severed branches (as they say) without inclination to their end: for all things attend on man, and he makes use of, and gathers fruit from all creatures: for the revolutions and periods of Stars make both for the distinctions of times, and the distribution of the worlds light. *Meteors* also are referred to Presages of tempests; and winds are ordained, as well for Navigation, as for turning of Mills, and other engines: and plants, and animals of what kind soever, are all either for mens houses, and places of shelter, or for nayment, or for food, or for physic, or for ease of labour, or to a word, for delight and solace; so that all things turn to work, not for themselves, but for

Neither is it added without consideration that certain particles were taken from di-

verse

verse living creatures, and mixt and tempered with that clayie masse, because it is most true that of all things comprehended within the compasse of the universe, Man is a thing most mixt and compounded, insomuch that he was well termed by the Ancients, A little World: for although the *Chymicks* do, with too much curiosity, take and rest the elegancie of this word (*Microcosme*) to the letter, contending to find in man all mineralls, all vegetables and the rest; or any thing that holds proportion, with them, yet this proposition remains sound and whole, that the body of man, of all material beings is found to be most compounded, & most organical, whereby it is indued and furnished with most admirable virtues and faculties. And as for simple bodies, their powers are not many, though certain and violent, as exulting without being weakned, diminished or tainted by mixture: for the multiplicity and excellencie of operation have their residence in mixture and composition, and yet nevertheless, man in his originals, seems to be a thing unarmed, and naked, and unable to help it self, as needing the aid of many things; therefore *Prometheus* made hast to find out fire, which suppeditates and yields comfort

comfort and help, in a manner, to all humane wants and necessities: so that if the soul be the form of forms, and if the hand be the instrument of instruments, fire deserves well to be called the succour of succours, or the help of helps, which infinite ways affords aid and assistance to all labours and mechanical Arts, and to the sciences themselves.

The manner of stealing this fire is aptly described, even from the nature of things: It was, they say, by a bundle of twigs held to touch the Chariot of the Sun: for twigs are used in giving blowes or stripes, to signifie clearly, that fire is ingendred by the violent percussion, and mutual collision of bodies, by which their material substances are attenuated and set in motion, and prepared to receive the heat or influence of the heavenly bodies, and so in a clandestine manner, and as it were, by stealth, may be said to take and snatch fire from the Chariot of the Sun.

There follows next a remarkeable part of the parable, that men instead of gratulation, and thanksgiving, were angry, and expostulated the matter with *Prometheus*, insomuch that they accused both him and his invention unto *Jupiter*, which was so acceptable

unto him, that he augmented their former commodities with a new bounty. Seems it not strange, that ingratitude towards the authour of a benefit (a vice, that in a manner, contains all other vices) should find such approbation and reward? No, it seems to be otherwise: for the meaning of the Allegory is this, that mens outcries upon the defects of Nature and Art, proceed from an excellent disposition of the mind, and turn to their good, whereas the silencing of them is hatefull to the gods, and redounds not so much to their profit: For they that infinitely extoll humane nature, or the knowledge they possesse, breaking out into a prodigal admiration of that they have and enjoy, adoring also those sciences they professe, would have them be accounted perfect; they do first of all shew little reverence to the divine nature, by equalizing, in a manner, their own defects with Gods perfection; Again they are wonderfull injurious to men, by imagining they have attained the highest step of knowledge (resting themselves contented) seek no further. On the contrary, such as bring Nature and Art to the barr with accusations and bills of complaint against them, are indeed of more true and moderate judgements: for they are ever in action, seeking

always

alwaies to find out new inventions. Which makes me much to wonder at the foolish & inconsiderate dispositions of some men, who (making themselves bond-slaves to the arrogancy of a few) have the philosophy of the Peripateticks (containing only a portion of Grecian wisdome, and that but a small one neither) in so great esteem, that they hold it, not only an unprofitable, but a suspicious, and almost heinous thing, to lay any imputation of imperfection upon it. I approve rather of *Empedocles* his opinion (who like a mad man, and of *Democritus* his judgment, who with great moderation complained how that all things were involved in a mist) that we knew nothing, that we discerned nothing, that truth was drown'd in the depths of obscurity, and that false things were wonderfully joyned and intermixt with true (as for the new Academie that exceeded all measure) than of the confident and pronunciative schoel of *Aristotle*. Let men therefore be admonished, that by acknowledging the imperfection of Nature and Art, they are gratefull to the gods, and shall thereby obtain new benefits and greater favours at their bountifull hands, and the accusation of *Prometheus* their Author and Master, (though bitter and vehement) will con-

duce more to their profit, than to be effuse in the congratulation of his invention: for in a word, the opinion of having enough, is to be accounted one of the greatest causes of having too little.

Now as touching the kind of gift which men are said to have received in reward of their accusation (to wit, an ever fading flower of youth) it is to shew, that the Ancients seemed not to despair of attaining the skill by means and medicines, to put off old age, and to prolong life, but this to be numbred rather among such things as (having been once happily attained unto) are now through mens negligence and carelessenes, utterly perished and lost; than among such as have been alwaies denied and never granted: for they signifie and shew, that by affording the true use of Fire, and by a good and stern accusation and conviction of the errours of Art, the divine bounty is not wanting unto men in the obtaining of such gifts, but men are wanting to themselves in laying this gift of the gods upon the back of a silly and slow-paced Asse, which may seem to be Experience, a stupid thing, and full of delay: from whose leisurely and snail-like pace, proceeds that complaint of Lifes brevity, and Arts length. And to say the truth,

truth, I am of this opinion, that those two faculties *Dogmatical* and *Emperical*, are not as yet well joyned and coupled together, but as new gifts of the gods imposed either upon philosophical abstractions, as upon a flying bird, or upon slow and dull experience, as upon an Asse. And yet methinks, I would not entertain an ill conceit of this asse, if it meet not for the accidents of travell and thirst: for I am perswaded, that who so constantly goes on, by the conduct of experience, as by a certain rule and method, and not covets to meet with such experiments by the way, as conduce either to gain or ostentation (to obtain which, he must be fain to lay down and sell this burthen) may prove no unfit Porter to bear this new addition of devine munificence.

Now, in that this gift is said to passe from men to serpents, it may seem to be added to the Fable for ornaments-sake in a manner, unlesse it were inserted to shame men, that having the use of that celestial Fire, and of so many Arts, are not able to get unto themselves such things as Nature it self bestows upon many other creatures.

But that sudden reconciliation of men to *Prometheus*, after they were frustrated of their hopes, contains a profitable and wise

note, shewing the levity and temerity of men in new experiments: for if they have not present successe answerable to their expectation, with too sudden hast desist from that they began, and with precipitancy returning to their former experiments are reconciled to them again.

The state of man in respect of Arts, and such things as concern the intellect, being now described, the parable passeth to Religion: For after the planting of Arts follows the setting of divine principles, which hypocrisie hath overspread and polluted. By that twofold Sacrifice therefore is elegantly shadowed our, the persons of a true religious man and an hypocrite. In the one is contained fatnesse, which (by reason of the inflamation and fumes thereof) is called the portion of God, by which his affection and zeal (tending to Gods glory, and ascending towards heaven) is signified. In him also are contained the bowels of charity, and in him is found that good and wholesome flesh. Whereas in the other, there is nothing but dry and naked bones, which nevertheless do stuffe up the hide, and make it appear like a fair and goodly Sacrifice: By this may well be meant those externall and vain rites, and emptie Ceremonies by which men do

oppress

oppresse and fill up the sincere worship of God, things composed rather for ostentation than any way conducing to true piety. Neither do they hold it sufficient to offer such mock sacrifices unto God, except they also lay them before him, as if he had chosen and bespoke them. Certainly the Prophet in the person of God, doth thus expostulate concerning this choice. Esai. 58, 5. *Num tandem hoc est illud jejunium, quod ELEGI, ut homo animam suam in diem unum affligat, & caput instar juncea demittat?* Is it such a Fast, that I have chosen, that a man should afflict his soul for a day, and to bow down his head like a Bull-rush.

Having now touch't the state of Religion, the parable converts it self to the manners and conditions of humane life. And it is a common, but apt interpretation, by *Pandora* to be meant pleasure and voluptuousnesse, which (when the civill life is pampered with too much Art, and culture, and superfluity) is ingendred as it were, by the efficacy of fire, and therefore the work of voluptuousness is attributed unto *Vulcan*, who also himself doth represent Fire. From this do infinite miseries, together with too late repentance, proceed and overflow the minds, and bodies, & fortunes of men, and that not only in

respect of particular estates, but even over Kingdoms and Common-wealths: for from this fountain have wars, tumults and tyrannies derived their original.

But it would be worth the labour, to consider how elegantly and proportionably this Fable doth deliniate two conditions, or (as I may say) two tables or examples of humane life, under the persons of *Prometheus* and *Epimetheus*: for they that are of *Epimetheus* his sect, are improvident, not foreseeing what may come to passe hereafter, esteeming that best which seems most sweet for the present; whence it happens that they are overtaken with many miseries, difficulties, and calamities, and so lead their lives almost in perpetual affliction, but yet notwithstanding they please their fancy, and out of ignorance of the passages of things, do entertain many vain hopes in their mind, whereby they sometimes (as with sweet dreams) solace themselves, and sweeten the miseries of their life. But they that are *Prometheus* his Scholars, are men endued with prudence, foreseeing things to come warily, shunning and avoiding many evills and misfortunes. But to these their good properties they have this also annexed, that they deprive themselves, and defraud their *Genius* of many lawfull

lawfull pleasures and divers recreations, and (which is worse) they vex and torment themselves with cares and troubles, and intestine fears: For being chained to the pillar of necessity, they are afflicted with innumerable cogitations (wich because they are very swift, may be fitly compared to an Eagle) and those griping, and as it were, gnawing and devouring the liver, unlesse sometimes as it were by night, it may be they get a little recreation and ease of mind, but so, as that they are again suddenly assaulted with fresh anxieties and fears.

Therefore this benefit happens to but a very few of either condition, that they should retain the commodities of Providence, and free themselves from the miseries of care and perturbation; neither indeed can any attain unto it, but by the assistance of *Hercules*, that is, fortitude and constancie of mind, which is prepared for every event, & armed in all fortunes, foreseeing without fear, enjoying without loathing, and suffering without impatience. It is worth the noting also, that this vertue was not natural to *Prometheus*, but adventitial and from the indulgence of another: for no in-bred and natural fortitude is able to encounter with these miseries. Moreover this vertue was received

and brought unto him from the remotest part of the *Ocean*, and from the Sun, that is, from wisdome as from the Sun; and from the meditation of inconstancy, or of the waters of humane life, as from the sailing upon the Ocean; which two, *Virgil* hath well conjoyned in these verses:

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas:
Quique metus omnes, & inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari.

Happie is he that knows the cause of things,
And that with dauntlesse courage treads upon
All fear and Fates, relentlesse threatnings,
And greedy throat of roaring Acheron.

Moreover, it is elegantly added for the consolation and confirmation of mens minds, that this noble *Hero* crost the Ocean in a Cup or Pan, lest peradventure, they might too much fear that the straits & frail-

tie

tis of their nature will not be capable of this fortitude and constancy. Of which very thing *Seneca* well conceived when he said, *Magnum est habere simul fragilitatem hominis, & securitatem Dei.* It is a great matter for humane frailty and divine security to be one and the self-same time in one and the self-same Subject.

But now we are to step back a little again to that, which by premeditation we past over, lest a breach should be made in those things that were so linckt together. That therefore which I could touch here is that last crime imputed to *Prometheus*, about seeking to bereave *Minerva* of her virginity: for question-lesse, it was this heinous offence that brought that punishment of devouring his liver upon him; which is nothing else but to shew, that when we are puft up with too much learning and science, they go about ostentimes to make even divine Oracles subject to sence and reason; whence most certainly follows a continual distraction and restlesse griping of the mind: we must therefore with a sober & humble judgement distinguish between humanity and divinity, and between the Oracles of sence, and the mysteries of faith, unlesse an heretical religion,

sion, and a commentitious philosophy be pleasing unto us.

Lastly, It remains that we say something of the games of *Prometheus* performed with burning torches, which again hath reference to Arts and Sciences, as that fire, in whose memory and celebration, these games were instituted, and it contains in it a most wise admonition, that the perfection of sciences is to be expected from succession, not from the nimblenes and promptnes of one only author: for they that are nimblest in course & strongest in contention, yet happily have not the luck to keep fire still in their torch; seeing it maybe as well extinguished by runing too fast, as by going too slow. And this runing & contending with lamps, seems long since to be intermitted, seeing all sciences seem even now to flourish most in their first Authors, *Aristotle*, *Galen*, *Euclid*, and *Ptolomie*, succession having neither effected, nor almost attempted any great matter. It were therefore to be wished, that these games in in honour of *Prometheus* or humane nature were again restored, and that matters should receive succes by combate and emulation, and not hang upon any one mans sparkling and shaking torch. Men therefore are to be admonished to rouse up their spirits, and try

try their strengths and turns, and not refer all to the opinions and brains of a few.

And thus have I delivered that which I thought good to observe out of this so well known and common Fable; and yet I will not deny but that there may be some things in it, which have an admirable consent with the mysteries of Christian Religion, and especially that saying of *Hercules* in a Cup (to set *Prometheus* at liberty) seems to represent an image of the divine Word, coming in flesh as in a frail Vessell to redeem *Man* from the slavery of *Hell*. But I have interdicted my pen all liberty in this kind, lest I should use strange fire at the Altar of the Lord.

SCYLLA and *ICARUS*, or the *Middle-way*.

MEdiocrity or the *Middle-way* is most commended in morall actions, in contemplative sciences not so celebrated, though no less profitable and commodious: But in political imployments to be used with great heed and judgement. The Ancients by the way prescribed to *Icarus*, noted the mediocrity of manners: and by the way between *Scylla* and *Charibdis* (so famous for

for difficulty and danger) the mediocrity of of intellectual operations.

Icarus being to cross the Sea by flight, was commanded by his Father that he should flie neither too high nor too low, for his wings, being joyned with wax, if he should mount too high, it was to be feared lest the wax would melt by the heat of the Sun; and if too low, lest the mistie vapours of the Sea would make it lesse tenacious: But he in a youthfull jollity soring too high fell down headlong and perished in the water.

The parable is easie and vulgar: for the way of vertue lies in a direct path between excesse and defect. Neither is it a wonder that *Icarus* perished by Excesse, seeing that Excesse for the most part, is the peculiar fault of youth, as Defect is of age, and yet of two evill and hurtfull wayes, youth commonly makes choise of the better, defect being always accounted worst: for whereas excess contains some sparks of magnanimity, and like a bird claims kindred of the Heavens, Defect only like a base worm crawls upon the earth. Excellently therefore said *Heraclitus, Lumen siccum, optima anima.* A drie light is the best soul: for if the soul contract moisture from the earth it becomes degenerate altogether. Again on the other side, there

must

must be moderation used, that this light be subtilized by this laudable siccity, and not destroyed by too much fervency. And thus much every man for the most part knowes.

Now they that would sail between *Scylla* and *Charibdis* must be furnished, as well with the skill, as prosperous success in Navigation: for if their ships fall into *Scylla* they are split on the Rocks; if into *Charibdis* they are swallowed up of a Gulf.

The Morall of this parable (which we will but briefly touch, although it contain matter of infinite contemplation) seems to be this, that in every Art and Science, and so in their Rules and Axiomes, there be a mean observed between the Rocks of distinctions, and the gulfs of Universalities, which two are famous for the wrack both of Wits and Arts.

SPHYNX, or Science.

THEY say that *Sphynx* was a monster of diverse forms, as having the face and voyce of a Virgin, the wings of a Bird, and the talents of a Griphin. His abode was in a mountain near the City of *Thebes*, he kept also the high-waies, and used to lye in ambush

bush for travellers, and so to surprize them: to whom (being in his power) he propounded certain dark and intricate Riddles, which were were thought to have been given and received of the Muses. Now if these miserable captives were not able instantly to resolve and interpret them in the midst of their difficulties and doubts, she would rend and tear them apieces. The Countrey groaning a long time under this calamity, the *Thebanes* at last propounded the Kingdome as a reward unto him that could interpret the Riddles of *Sphynx*, there being no other way to destroy her. Whereupon *Oedipus* (a man of piercing and deep judgement, but maimed and lame by reason of holes bored in his feet) moved with the hope of so great a reward, accepted the condition, and determined to put it to the hazard, and so with an undaunted and bold spirit, presented himself before the Monster, who asking him what creature that was, which after his birth went first upon four feet, next upon two, then upon three, and lastly upon four feet again, answered forthwith that it was Man, which in his infancy, immediately after birth crawls upon all four, scarce ventring to creep, and not long after stands upright upon two feet, then growing old he leans upon

a staffe wherewith he supports himself, so that he may seem to have three feet, and at last in decreped years, his strength failing him, he falls groveling again upon four, and lies bed-rid. Having therefore by this true answer gotten the victory, he instantly slew this *Sphynx*, and (laying her body upon an asse) leads it, as it were, in triumph: and so (according to the condition) was created King of the *Thebans*.

This Fable contains in it no lesse wisdom than elegancy, and it seems to point at Science, especially that which is joyned with practise, for Science may not absurdly be termed a monster, as being by the ignorant and rude multitude alwaies held in admiration.

It is dive e in shape and figure by reason of the infinite variety of subjects, wherein it is conversant. A maiden face and voyce is attributed unto for its gracious countenance and volubility of tongue. Wings are added because Sciences and their inventions do passe and fly from one to another, as it were in a moment, seeing that the communication of Science is as the kindling of one light at another. Elegantly also it is fained to have sharp and hooked talents, because the Axiomes and arguments of Science do so

fasten

fasten upon the mind, and so strongly apprehend and hold it, as that it sticks or cleaves, which is noted also by the divine Philosopher: Eccl. 12. 11. *Verba sapientum* (saith he) *sunt tanquam stimuli & velut clavi in altum defixi.* The words of the wise are like goads, and like nails driven fast in.

Moreover, all Science seems to be placed in steep and high mountains, as being thought to be a lofty and high thing, looking down upon ignorance with a scornfull eye. It may be observed and seen also a great way and far in compass, as things set on the top of mountains.

Furthermore, Science may well be famed to beset the high wayes, because which way soever we turn in this progress and pilgrimage of humane life, we meet with some matter or occasion offered for contemplation.

Sphynx is said to have received from the Muses divers difficult questions and riddles, and to propound them unto men, which remaining with the muses are free (it may be) from savage cruelty: for so long as there is no other end of studie and meditation, than to know; the understanding is not racked and imprisoned, but enjoys freedome and li-

berty

berty, and even in doubts and varietie finds a kind of pleasure and delectation: but when once these *Ænigmata* are delivered by the Muses to *Sphynx*, that is, to practise, so that it be sollicited and urged by action, and election and determination; then they begin to be troublesome and raging; and unless they be resolved and expedited, they do wonderfully torment and vex the minds of men, distracting, and in a manner rending them into sundry parts.

Moreover there is alwaies a twofold condition propounded with *Sphynx* her *Ænigmata*; To him that doth not expound them, distraction of mind, and to him that doth, a kingdome: for he that knows that which he sought to know, hath attained the end he aimed at, and every artificer also commands over his work.

Of *Sphynx* her Riddles, they are generally two kinds; some concerning the nature of things, others touching the nature of Man. So also there are two kinds of Emperies, or rewards to those that resolve them: the one over nature, the other over men; for the proper and chief end of true naturall philosophy is to command and sway over naturall beings, as bodies, medicines, mechanical works, and infinite other things; although

the

school (being content with such things as are offered, and priding it self with speeches) doth neglect realities and works, treading them as it were under foot. But that *Ænigma* propounded to *Oedipus* (by means of which he obtained the *Theban* Empire) belonged to the nature of man: For whosoever doth throughly consider the nature of man, may be in a manner the contriver of his own fortune, and is born to command, which is well spoken of the Roman Arts:

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane memento.
Hæ tibi erunt artes.——

Roman remember that with Scepters awe
Thy Realms thou rule. These Arts let be thy Law.

It was therefore very apposit, that *Augustus Cæsar* (whether by premeditation or by a chance) bare a *Sphynx* in his Signet: for he (if ever any) was famous not only in political government, but in all the course of his life; he happily discovered many new *Ænigmas* concerning the nature of Man, which

which if he had not done with dexteritie and promptnesse, he had oftentimes fallen into eminent danger and destruction.

Moreover, It is added in the Fable, that the body of *Sphynx* when she was overcome was laid upon an asse: which indeed is an elegant fiction; seeing there is nothing so acute and abstruse, but (being well understood and divulged) may be apprehended by a slow capacity.

Neither is it to be omitted, that *Sphynx* was overcome by a man lame in his feet: for when men are too swift of foot and too speedy of pace in hasting to *Sphynx* her *Aenigmats*, it comes to passe that (she getting the upper hand) their wits and minds are rather distracted by disputations, than that ever they come to command by works and effects.

PROSERPINA, or Spirit.

PLUTO they say, being made king of the infernal dominions (by that memorable division) was in despair of ever attaining any one of the superior goddesses in marriage, especially if he should venter to court them either with words or with any amorous

amorous behaviour, so that of necessitie he was to lay some plot to get one of them by rapine; taking therefore the benefit of opportunity, he caught up *Proserpina* (the daughter of *Ceres*, a beautifull Virgin) as she was gathering *Narcissus* flowers in the meadows of *Sicily*, and carried her away with him in his Coach to the *Subterran an* dominions, where she was welcomed with such respect, as that she was stiled the Lady of *Dis*. But *Ceres* her mother, when in no place she should find this her only beloved daughter, in a sorrowfull humor and distracted beyond measure, went compassing the whole earth with a burning torch in her hand, to seek and recover this her lost child. But when she saw that all was in vain, supposing peradventure that she was carried to Hell, she importuned *Jupiter* with many tears and lamentations, that she might be restored unto her again, & at length prevailed thus far, That if she had tasted of nothing in hell she should have leave to bring her from thence. Which condition was as good as a denial to her petition, *Proserpina* having already eated three grains of a *Pomegranat*. And yet for all this, *Ceres* gave not over her suite, but fell to prayers and moans afresh. Wherefore it was at last granted, that (the

year

year being divided) *Proserpina* should by alternate courses, remain one six months with her husband, and other six months with her mother. Not long after this, *Theseus* and *Perithous* in an over-hardy adventure attempted to fetch her from *Pluto's* bed, who being weary with travell, and sitting down upon a stone in hell to rest themselves, had not the power to rise again, but sate there for ever. *Proserpina* therefore remained Queen of hell, in whose honour there was this rare priviledge granted, That although it were enacted that none that went once to Hell should have the power ever to return from thence, yet was this singular exception annexed to this law, that if any presented *Proserpina* with a golden bough, it should be lawfull for him to go and come at his pleasure. Now there was but one only such a bough in a spacious and shady grove, which was not a plant neither of it self, but budded from a tree of another kind, like a piece of Gum, which being plucked off another would instantly spring out.

This Fable seems to pertain to nature; as to dive into that rich and plentifull efficacy and variety of subalternal creatures, from whom whatsoever we have is derived, and to them doth again return.

By

By *Proserpina* the Ancients meant that æthereal spirit which being separated from the upper globe) is shut up and detained under the earth (represented by *Pluto*) which the Poet well expressed thus:

Sive recens tellus, seductaque nuper ab alto.
Æthere, cognatis retinebat semina cœli.

Whither the youngling Tellus (that of late
Was from the high-rear'd Æther separate)
Did yet contain her teeming womb within
The living seeds of Heaven, her nearest kin.

This spirit is fained to be rapted by the Earth, because nothing can with hold it when it hath time and leasure to escape. It is therefore caught and stayed by a sudden contraction, no otherwise than if a man should go about to mingle air with water, which can be done by no means, but by a speedy and rapid agitation, as may be seen in froth, where in the air is rapted by the water.

Nei-

Neither is it inelegantly added that *Proserpina* was wrapt as she was gathering *Narcissus* Flowers in the valleys, because *Narcissus* hath his name from slowness or stupidity: for indeed then is this Spirit most prepared and fitted to be snatcht by terrestrial matter, when it begins to be coagulated, and become as it were slow.

Rightly is *Proserpina* honored more than any of the other gods bed-fellows, in being stiled the Lady of *Dis*, because this spirit doth rule and sway all things in those lower Regions, *Pluto* abiding stupid and ignorant.

This Spirit the power celestial (shadowed by *Ceres*) strives with infinite sedulity to recover and get again: for that brand or burning torch of *Æther* (which *Ceres* carried in her hand) doth doubtless signifie the Sun, which enlightneth the whole circuit of the Earth, and would be of greatest moment to recover *Proserpina*, if possibly it might be.

But *Proserpina* abides still, the reason of which is accurately and and excellently propounded in the conditions between *Jupiter* and *Ceres*: for first it is most certain there are two wayes to keep Spirit in solid and terrestrial Matter: the one by constipation and obstruction, which is meer imprisonment

and constraint; the other by administration of proportionable nutriment, which it receives willingly and of its own accord: for after that the included Spirit begins to feed and nourish it self, it makes no hast to be gone, but is, as it were, linked to its Earth: And this is pointed at by *Proserpina* her eating of a Pomegranate; which if she had not done, she had long since been recovered by *Ceres* with her torch, compassing the Earth. Now as concerning that Spirit which is in Metrals and minerals, it is chiefly perchance restrained by the solidity of Mass: but that which is in Plants and Animals, inhabites a porous body, and hath open passage to be gone in a manner as it lists, were it not that it willingly abides of its own accord, by reason of the relish it finds in its entertainment. The second condition concerning the six months custome, it is no other than an elegant description of the division of the year, seeing this Spirit mixt with the earth appears above ground in vegetable bodies during the Summer months, and in the winter sinks down again.

Now as concerning *Theseus* and *Perithous* and their attempt to bring *Proserpina* quite away: the meaning of it is, that it often times comes to pass, that some more subtill

subtill spirits descending with divers bodies to the Earth, never come to suck of any subalternall spirit, whereby to unite it unto them, and so to bring it away. But on the contrary, are coagulated themselves and never rise more, that *Proserpine* should be by that means augmented with inhabitants and dominion.

All that we can say concerning that sprig of gold is hardly able to defend us from the violence of the *Cynicks*, if in this regard they set upon us, seeing they promise by that their *Elixar* to effect golden mountains, and the restoring of natural bodies, as it were, from the portall of Hell. But concerning Chymistry, and those perpetuall tutors, for that philosophicall *Elixar*, we know certainly that their *Theory* is without grounds, & we suspect that their practice also is without certain reward. And therefore (omitting these) of this last part of the parable, this is my opinion. I am induced to believe by many figures of the Ancients, that the conservation and restauration of natural bodies in some sort was not esteemed by them as a thing impossible to be attained, but as a thing obstruse and full of difficulties, and so they seem to intimate in this place, when they report that this one only sprig was found a-

mong infinite other trees in a huge and thick wood, which they fained to be of gold, because gold is the badge of perpetuity, and to be artificially as it were inserted, because this effect is to be rather hoped for from Art, than from any Medicine, or simple or natural means.

METIS, or Counsell.

THE ancient Poets report that *Jupiter* took *Metis* to wife, whose name doth plainly signifie Counsell, and that she by him conceived. Which when he found, not tarrying the time of her deliverance, devoured both her and that which she went withall, by which means *Jupiter* himself became with child, and was delivered of a wondrous birth: for out of his head or brain came forth *Pallas* armed.

The sense of this Fable (which at first apprehension may seem monstrous and absurd) contains in it a secret of state, to wit, with what policy Kings are wont to carry themselves towards their Counsellors, whereby they may not only preserve their authority and Majesty free and entire, but also that it may be the more extolled and dignified of the people: For Kings being as it were

were tyed and coupled in a Nuptial bond to their Counsellors, do truly conceive that communicating with them about the affairs of greatest importance, do yet detract nothing from their own Majesty. But when any matter comes to be censured or decreed (which is a brib.) there do they confine and restrain the liberty of their Counsellors; lest that which is done should seem to be hatcht by their wisdome and judgement. So as at last Kings (except it be in such matters as are distastfull and maligned, which they alwaies will be sure to put off from themselves) do assume the honour and praise of all matters that are ruminated in Counsell, and as it were, formed in the womb, whereby the resolution and execution (which because it proceeds from power, and implies necessity, is elegantly shadowed under the figure of *Pallas* armed) shall seem to proceed wholly from themselves. Neither sufficeth it that it is done by the authoritie of the King by his meer will and free applause, except withall, this be added and appropriated as to issue out of his own head or brain, intimating, that out of his own judgement, wisdome and ordinance it was only invented and derived.

The SYRENES, or Pleasures.

THE Fable of the *Syrenes* seems rightly to have been applied to the pernicious allurements of pleasure, but in a very vulgar and grosse manner. And therefore to me it appears, that the Wisdome of the Ancients have with a farther reach or insight strain'd deeper matter out of them, not unlike to Grapes ill prest, from which though some liquor were drawn, yet the best was left behind. These *Syrenes* are said to be the daughters of *Achelous* and *Terpsichores* one of the Muses. Who in their first being were winged, but after rashly entring into contention with the Muses, were by them vanquished, and deprived of their wings. Of whose pluckt out Feathers the Muses made themselves Coronets. So as ever since that time all the Muses have attired themselves with plumed heads, except *Terpsichores* only, that was mother to the *Syrenes*. The habitation of the *Syrenes* was in certain pleasant Ilands, from whence as soon as out of their watch-tower they discovered any ships approaching, with their sweet tunes they would first entice and stay them, and having them in their power would destroy them.

Neither

Neither was their song plain and single, but consisting of such variety of melodious tunes so fitting and delighting the ears that heard them, as that it ravished and betrayed all passengers. And so great was the mischiefs they did, that these Isles of the *Syrens*, even as far off as man could ken them, appeared all over white with the bones of unburied Carcases. For the remedying of this misery a double means was at last found out, the one by *Ulisses*, the other by *Orpheus*. *Ulisses* (to make experiment of his device) caused all the ears of his companie to be stopt with wax, and made himself to be bound to the main Mast, with special commandement to his Marriners not to be loosed, albeit himself should require them so to do. But *Orpheus* neglecting and disdaining to be so bound, with a shrill and sweet voice singing praises of the gods to his Harp, suppresst the songs of the *Syrens*, and so freed himself from their danger.

This Fable hath relation to mens manners, and contains in it a manifest and most excellent Parable: For pleasures do for the most part proceed out of the abundance and superfluity of all things, and also out of the delights & jovial contentments of the mind: the which are wont suddenly, as it were, with

winged enticements to ravish and rapt mortal men. But learning and education brings it so to pass, as that it restrains and bridles mans mind, making it so to consider the ends and events of things, as that it clips the wings of pleasure. And this was greatly to the honour and renown of the Muses: for after that by some examples it was made manifest that by the power of philosophy vain pleasures might grow contemptible, it presently grew to great esteem, as a thing that could raise and elevate the mind aloft that seemed to be base and fixed to the earth, make the cogitations of the men (which do ever reside the head) to be Æcherial, and as it were winged. But that the Mother of the *Syrens* was left to her feet and without wings; that no doubt is no otherwise meant, than of light and superficial learning, appropriated and defined only to pleasures, as were those which *Petronius* devoted himself unto, after he had received his fatall sentence, and having his foot, as it were, upon the threshold of death sought to give himself all delightfull contentments, insomuch as when he had caused consolatory letters to be sent him, he would peruse none of them (as *Tacitus* reports) that should give him courage and con-

constancy, but only read fantastical verses, such as these are:

Vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus,
Rumoresque Senum Severiorum
Omnes unius æstimemus Assis.

My Lesbia, let us live and love;
Though wayward Dottards us reprove,
Weigh their words light for our behove.

And this also:

Jura Senes norint, & quid sit fasque nefasque
Inquirant tristes, legumque examina servent.

Let doting Grandsires know the Law,
And right and wrong observe with awe:
Let them in that strict circle draw.

This kind of doctrine would easily perswade to take these plumed Coronets from the Muses, and to restore the wings again to the *Syrens*. These *Syrens* are said to dwell in remote Isles, for that pleasures love privacy and retired places, shunning alwaies too much company of people. The *Syrenes* songs are so vulgarly understood, together

with the deceits and danger of them, as that they need no exposition. But that of the bones appearing like white cliffs, and descried a far off, hath more acuteness in it; For thereby is signified, that albeit the examples of afflictions be manifest and eminent; yet do they not sufficiently deter us from the wicked enticements of pleasures.

As for the remainder of this parable, though it be not over mystical, yet it is very grave and excellent: For in it are set out three remedies for this violent enticing mischief; to wit, two from *Philosophy*, and one from Religion. The first means to shun these inordinate pleasures is, to withstand and resist them in their beginnings, and seriously to shun all occasions that are offered to debauch and entice the mind, which is signified in that stopping of the ears; and that remedy is properly used by the meaner and baser sort of people, as it were, *Ulysses* followers or Mariners; whereas more heroick and noble Spirits, may boldy converse even in the midst of these seducing pleasures, if with a resolved constancy they stand upon their guard, and fortifie their minds, and so take greater contentment in the triall and experience of this their approved vertue; learning rather throughly to understand

stand the follies and vanities of those pleasures by contemplation, than by submission. Which *Salomon* avouched of himself, when he reckoning up the multitude of those solaces and pleasures wherein he swam, doth conclude with this Sentence.

Sapientia quoque perseveravit mecum.
Wisdome also continued with me.

Therefore these Heroes and Spirits of this excellent temper, even in the midst of these enticing pleasures, can shew themselves constant and invincible, and are able to support their own vertuous inclination, against all heady and forcible perswasions whatsoever; as by the example of *Ulysses* that so peremptorily interdicted all pestilent counsels and flatteries of his companions, as the most dangerous and pernicious poysons to captivate the mind. But of all other remedies in this case, that of *Orpheus* is most predominant: For they that chaunt and resound the praises of the Gods, confound and dissipate the voyces and incantations of the *Syrenes*; for divine meditations do not only in power subdue all sensual pleasures; but also far exceed them in sweetness and delight.

FINIS.